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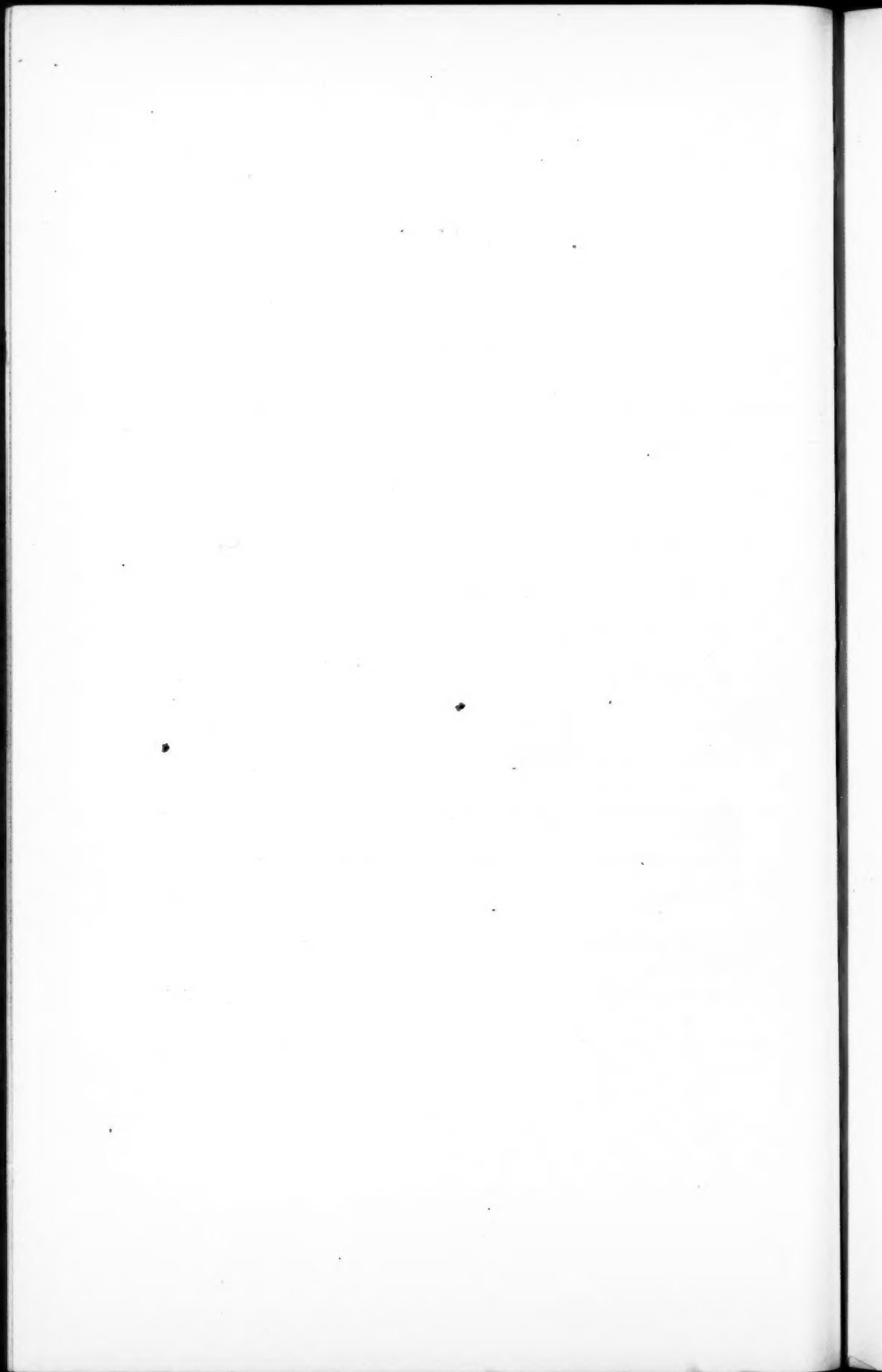
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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. XIX

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THE INFLUENCE OF NEW ENGLAND IN MICHIGAN

BY J. HAROLD STEVENS

WYANDOTTE

THE original white pioneer in Michigan was the Frenchman. The story of the French in Michigan is romantic and interesting but the Frenchman left comparatively little to influence the Michigan we know to-day.

The Frenchman in Michigan continued to live in the crude and primitive fashion in which most pioneers must begin life on the frontier.¹ Resistant to progress, conservative and untutored, he was well satisfied to live in the crudest of log houses, using skins in lieu of glass for windows, dependent upon fish, game and the scanty products of a poorly tilled farm for food.² His best efforts were devoted to the Indian trade which was fostered by the continuance of a primitive civilization and the preservation of the natural hunting grounds. He resisted the invasion of the progressive, energetic American with his "Yankee innovations" in business and politics.³ He had no desire for popular government,⁴ preferring the paternalistic rule of a more or less benevolent monarchy. Socially, the French were a congenial people, enjoying each other's society, smoking, drinking and such mild gaiety as was possible in the frontier, unrestrained by the the Puritan prejudices of the early Americans.⁵

¹*Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 328-329.

²Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 338.

³Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 95ff.

⁴*Ibid.*, 84; Smith, *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, 113.

⁵*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVII, 332.

The English government saw little to hope for in promoting a higher type of civilization or economic progress. It, therefore, encouraged the continuance of the primitive French society with its profitable fur trade.⁶ This same attitude on the part of British officials accounts for the willingness of England to cede this region to the United States without much resistance.⁷

The American Congress was more hopeful. When the western land claims were ceded to the United States as a condition to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, Congress took steps to provide for future expansion. The Ordinance of 1787 was later adopted to provide for the actual settlement of the region by Americans.

Yet even this hopeful optimism of our Congress was to be exceeded by that pioneer spirit of hopefulness and confidence which induced the multitude of individual families to move in a steady stream across the great continent, making it American by actual settlement and occupation of the territory.

A handful of Americans, adventurers, traders and statesmen, laid the foundation for American settlement by disproving early reports and fallacies regarding the desirability of Michigan lands for settlement.⁸

Foremost among these earliest of Michigan's American pioneers was General Lewis Cass who was appointed territorial governor in 1813. His energy, loyalty and confidence did much to dispel the results of an unfavorable report by a government survey.⁹ The survey had been conducted to locate desirable bounty lands for veterans of the War of 1812. It pictured Michigan as an "interminable swamp", broken only by stretches of barren sand unfit for cultivation.¹⁰ The survey was undoubtedly made in some particularly marshy region during the wet season and on a limited scale.¹¹ The result was the location of the bounty lands in other parts of the

⁶Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 336.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Cooley, *Michigan*, 196.

⁹*Ibid.*; Streeter, *Michigan Biographies*, I, 156.

¹⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 546; I, 381.

¹¹*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 546.

Northwest Territory while such settlement as might have been made in Michigan was turned into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.¹²

The maps of that day were usually based on very little accurate information. These unauthentic charts added greatly to the prevailing ideas of Michigan as a vast and useless swamp.

By actual explorations, authentic reports and enthusiastic descriptions of the real Michigan, Governor Cass and his little following of American settlers gradually overcame the false impressions.¹³ The exploring expedition of Governor Cass in 1820 is perhaps the most noted example of his contribution to the general knowledge of the geography and resources of Michigan.¹⁴

Soldiers returning from the war of 1812 told their friends and neighbors of the rich, cheap lands of Michigan and did much to dispel the general prejudice against the territory.¹⁵

Travelers like Evans, Blaine and Darby wrote of Michigan in an effort to give the East a true picture of the new territory.¹⁶

This early prejudice against Michigan may have been a blessing in disguise. The deflection of the settlers of the early period left Michigan available for the tide of New England and New York pioneers who came after the opening of the Erie canal, a vast caravan of home seekers of high quality and homogeneity much to be desired by any community.¹⁷ In the meantime, a change in the land laws in 1820 made it easier for farmers to take up land under the act. Farms as small as eighty acres could be purchased at \$1.25 per acre.¹⁸ This greatly encouraged the actual settlement of the lands by small farmers under conditions favorable to economic success.

The heaviest foreign immigration before the Civil War came after the settlement of Michigan, and, therefore, went further

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Cooley, *Michigan*; Streeter, *Michigan Biographies*, I, 156.

¹⁴Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 171.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 546-547.

¹⁷Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 171-172.

¹⁸*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 361.

west, the Germans to Wisconsin, the Scandinavians to Minnesota, leaving Michigan the last western post of an essentially New England origin.¹⁹

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the territories adjacent to Michigan on the East and South were rapidly filling up. The Genesee region of New York was filling by 1800.²⁰ It was the exodus from this region that impelled the migration to Michigan.

The two natural routes to the West were the Ohio river valley, augmented later by the Cumberland road, and the Mohawk valley route.²¹ The latter possessed the easiest of all grades and great natural advantages but hostile Indians and British forts dissuaded Americans from following its course long after the Ohio river route had become a great avenue of westward travel.²²

So long as the Ohio valley was the single traveled route, the tendency of the immigrants was down the river to the South instead of northward to the upper portion of the Northwest Territory.²³ Northern Indiana and Ohio were an uncharted wilderness as compared to the active farm lands of the Ohio shore. Even western New York was still an unsettled waste when the lands of the Ohio river blossomed with abundant crops. Buffalo, Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago were either non-existent or straggling villages with wild game at their doors and Indians loitering in their streets.²⁴

Even during the Revolutionary War, Gouverneur Morris had visioned a canal to connect Lake Erie and the Hudson.²⁵ By 1812 the demand for such a canal was well under way.²⁶

Handicapped by a ten year margin, the Erie Canal route rapidly overtook the Cumberland route. It possessed a distinct advantage to the traveler. The Conestoga wagon, uni-

¹⁹Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 172; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 299, 503.

²⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVII, 142.

²¹*Ibid.*, 143.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*, 144.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 143.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*, 145.

versal vehicle of the early traveler, limited the immigrant to its capacity. The canal boat of the Erie moved slowly but surely (and cheaply) to Lake Erie, affording unlimited capacity at a minimum of effort. Steamboats on Lake Erie provided excellent transportation to Michigan and Chicago. Rapidly the new lake region was welded to the older river region, the newer portion gradually outdistancing the older because of its superior and cheaper facilities of transportation between East and West.²⁷

It was economic ambition which induced the Eastern sections of the nation to establish routes to the West. New York provided the Erie Canal, Pennsylvania her elaborate portage railway system and Maryland the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

Desire for inter-communication between the two sections of the Northwest Territory led to the establishment of canals to connect up the headwaters of various streams tributary to the Mississippi and St. Lawrence valleys at the points of the ancient Indian portages.²⁸

The competition resulting from the Erie canal and the appearance of the steam boat on Lake Erie at a time when many farmers of New York and New England were discouraged with their lot was a signal for that great movement from these regions which was to pour into Michigan the life blood of the old New England stock. The ease with which the residents of western New York could get to Buffalo and thence to Michigan was an added inducement to their settlement in that territory. By the thousands they sold their claims for what they would bring or abandoning them entirely, moved in a vast water caravan to the new territory, there to transplant for the second time the traditions and characteristics of New England until Michigan should become more truly the home of the Puritan ideals than any of the New England states themselves.²⁹

²⁷*Ibid.*, 147.

²⁸*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 360.

²⁹Other verses may be found in Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335.

Sometimes it seemed as though every village and hamlet of New England and western New York was contributing its quota of victims to "Michigan fever", as the urge to move to Michigan was named. "Michigania" was the popular song of the day. It probably helped to inoculate many a Yankee mind with the unresistable "fever." The first lines of the song were as follows:

"Come all ye yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,
Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot,
And leave behind the village where Pa and Ma must stay,
Come follow me and settle in Michigania.
Yea, Yea, Yea Michigania."³⁰ 29

Fully to understand the influence of New England in Michigan, one must consider the great movement of New England peoples to Western New York from whence so many of them came to Michigan. This movement to Michigan furnished the Peninsular State with considerably greater numbers of immigrants than did the direct migration from New England.

A conflict in land claims between New York and Massachusetts was settled by giving Massachusetts the pre-emption rights on considerable land in what became western New York, including 6,000,000 acres near Seneca Lake and in Genesee County and west of it, while New York was to enjoy sovereignty over the region.³¹ These pre-emption rights passed through the hands of a syndicate to Robert Morris who sold them to the Holland Land Co., a Dutch concern. The Dutch company divided its holdings into small farms and sold them to actual settlers on contract. Most of these buyers were from New England, while other settlers came from Connecticut to plant homes in the upper Mohawk valley.³²

The settlement of western New York by New Englanders was often accompanied by a missionary movement. Schools and churches were invariably established with their new homes.³³

³⁰Roberts, *New York*, II, 457-458.

³¹*Ibid.*, 457-458, 486.

³²*Ibid.*, 458.

³³*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 358.

By 1825 western New York farmers who had left their old homes to better their lot³⁴ found their dreams were not likely to come true in New York.³⁵ They had generally purchased land on "easy terms" from the Holland Land company but few had been able to keep up their payments. A liberal policy of the company, designed to encourage settlement and protected by the increasing values of the lands, allowed payments and even interest charges to lapse.³⁶ However, a political quarrel between the company's agent and an ambitious politician resulted eventually in legislation to tax the unpaid balances of contracts held by foreign companies. This forced the company, as a matter of sound business, to change its policy toward the delinquent settlers.³⁷

The natural result was a very bitter feeling between the pioneers and the company, resulting, in some cases, in actual violence. Purchase of the contracts by a New York concern merely aggravated the evil, forcing a large number of the settlers to sell out or abandon their claims.

Attracted by the cheap lands further west which the government was selling for \$1.25 per acre, and encouraged by easy and adequate transportation facilities, it was no wonder that a large part of the population of western New York packed up and moved to Michigan. The Erie canal which had flooded their markets with cheaper goods could as well transport their own products from cheaper and better land in Michigan.

Michigan having become a state in 1835 and Congress having granted the surviving veterans of the Revolution and their widows warrants entitling them or their assignees to settle anywhere on the public domain with 160 acres of land for each grant, many New Yorkers about to be dispossessed became interested in Michigan. As the veterans were usually too old to settle on the land themselves, it could be bought up very cheaply.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 359.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*, 359-360.

The flood of New Yorkers was augmented by a smaller but influential migration directly from New England. Impelled by economic changes which increased the cost of living in their old homes without enlarging their incomes and by the lure of cheaper and more productive farm-lands which promised to yield a handsome profit through their rapid appreciation, they came in groups and as individual families to seek new homes in the "Beautiful Peninsula."

The government aided by protecting the frontier, surveying and selling public lands, extinguishing Indian titles, helping to build roads, establishing postoffices and providing for local government.³⁸ Increased profits from raising wool encouraged the enlargement of many eastern farms at a time when low crop prices induced the sale of smaller holdings not large enough for sheep raising. Many of the smaller and poorer farmers were glad to sell out to the more prosperous sheep-raisers and move westward to the cheaper lands. The natural advantages of Michigan, its well drained hardwood and pine lands, abundant water power and available water transportation attracted many of these people to Michigan.³⁹

The rapid development of the steamboat, shortening the time of travel, greatly improving the facilities and comforts of transportation and reducing the cost to the immigrant did much to turn the prospective settler toward Detroit where he could make his way inland to seek a new home.⁴⁰

Gazetteers and maps played an important part in interesting and instructing the eastern prospect. The gazetteers and maps of John Farmer are noteworthy examples. In 1830 several thousands of Farmer's gazetteers were distributed in the East.⁴¹

In the years immediately following the opening of the Erie canal, loaded steamboats brought to Detroit a vast throng of home-seekers while many more made their way to Michigan

³⁸Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 493.

³⁹*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 542; Blois, *Gazeteer of Michigan*, 20-28.

⁴⁰Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 173.

⁴¹Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335; Blois, *Gazeteer of Michigan*, 414-418.

by land or sailboat.⁴² On one day in May, 1836, 2,400 passengers, mostly heads of families, arrived in Detroit.⁴³ The roads to the interior were said to be "literally thronged with immigrants." One citizen estimated that a wagon left Detroit for the interior every five minutes.⁴⁴ Farmer's "Emigrants' Guide and Gazetteer" estimated the migration of 1829 at 15,000.⁴⁵

More than fifty steamboats were reported in operation on Lake Erie in 1838, with 200 sloops and schooners. Steamers were particularly fitted for carrying immigrants, both for cabin and deck passage. Rates were low, eight dollars for cabin passage from Buffalo to Detroit with special rates for families. Sloops and schooners were slower but their rates were lower. Furniture and equipment could be carried at moderate cost, the emigrants being advised to bring furniture and tools with them.⁴⁶

In 1833 the Detroit Courier reported the arrival of seven steamboats on May 7 with 2,610 passengers.⁴⁷ Twenty thousand people were estimated to have entered the state in 1834.⁴⁸ It was said that steamboats left Toledo ahead of schedule in 1833 unable to take on more passengers for Detroit.⁴⁹

With this wave of New York-New England immigration, a gradual but steady change came over the old French village of Detroit so that by 1834 it was blossoming into an enterprising western metropolis.⁵⁰

Between 1830 and 1834 Michigan more than doubled the gain in population for the preceding decade.⁵¹

During the decade of 1827-1837 many improvements were projected in Detroit including water and sewage systems. Banks, schools, professional service and newspapers were avail-

⁴²Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335.

⁴³*Ibid.*, quoting *Detroit Free Press*, May 10, 1831.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Farmer, *Emigrant's Guidebook and Pocket Gazetteer*, flyleaf.

⁴⁶Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan* (1838), 415-416.

⁴⁷Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 177-178.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, quoting Niles' *Weekly Register*, 198, XIX.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 177-178.

⁵⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 555-556.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 544; Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 150; United States Census (1830), 153; (1820), 41.

able. Railroads were under construction and the Chicago road was completed during this period.⁵²

The completion of the Chicago road opened the southern tier of counties to easy settlement and led to the opening of a land office in Pigeon, St. Joseph county, in that year.⁵³

Between 1807 and 1836 treaties extinguished the Indian titles to most of the lower peninsula, opening that region to settlement without conflict with the natives.⁵⁴

Before 1820 settlement had been confined almost entirely to the larger rivers and navigable water. During the following decade a few pioneers were pushing inland along the Raisin, the Huron, the Rouge and the Clinton. Roads were still mere trails through the forests, traveled with great difficulty. In 1826 Congress undertook the construction of several roads while the individual enterprise of the settlers opened others from settlement to settlement.⁵⁵

The principal territorial roads in 1840 were the Detroit-Perrysburg (near Toledo) road and the Chicago road.⁵⁶ Mail routes had been established out of Detroit and at other important points.⁵⁷

In 1833 the state provided for the completion of three railroads while many canals were projected but never completed.⁵⁸

The completion of the Chicago road converted that route from a muddy, difficult trail, worn down by travel, into something more passable,⁵⁹ while the Territorial road encouraged settlement along its route from Detroit to Kalamazoo. Immigration encouraged the building of these roads while the completed roads greatly stimulated more immigration.⁶⁰

There is no statistical evidence that fully confirms the generally accepted opinion that most of Michigan's early settlers were of New York and New England origin, but it is the in-

⁵²Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 181-183.

⁵³*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 547.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, I, 225; XVIII, 513-517; XXXVIII, 547.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, XXII, 587.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 488.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 488-489.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 488.

⁵⁹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 254; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 222.

⁶⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 124.

sistent belief of the pioneers,⁶¹ while such statistics as are available certainly establish the idea as well founded. Many writers, after careful study, have been of this conviction.⁶²

Parkins stated that 63 per cent of the inhabitants of Detroit in 1850 came from New York (mostly from the western part) while most of the rest were from New England.⁶³

Farmer arrives at a similar conclusion, stating that Detroit and all Michigan probably have a larger proportion of New England stock than any other western state.⁶⁴ "At one time," he writes, "it seemed as though all New England was coming. The immigration fever pervaded almost every hamlet of New England and 'Michiganian' was a very popular song in the East."⁶⁵

The southern element, so important in the settlement of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois was almost negligible in Michigan.⁶⁶

Dr. G. N. Fuller made a careful study of the volumes of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, arriving at the conclusion that the New York and New England migrations furnished the bulk of Michigan's early residents.⁶⁷ The writer's own survey of these volumes convinces him of the accuracy of this common assumption.

Numerous sources indicate that these New England-New York peoples predominated in Eaton⁶⁸ and Ionia counties⁶⁹ while the states of New York, Vermont and Connecticut are most often mentioned as the source of the population of the Grand River valley.⁷⁰ Other writings indicate a New England and New York origin of Washtenaw, Lenawee and Oakland counties.⁷¹

⁶¹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 183.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 493, 497; Campbell, *Outlines of Michigan History*, 426-427; Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 189; Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 190; XXXVIII, 542. Others will be cited.

⁶³Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 189.

⁶⁴Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 542.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, XXIX, 328, 356, 373, 376, 380, 381, 384; XXVIII, 197fff; *History of Eaton and Ingham Counties*, 486, 494, 509, 528.

⁶⁹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 435-436.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 430, 441; *Memorials of Grand River Valley*, 37; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 263.

⁷¹*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 473-474.

Fuller made a study of Washtenaw county to get statistical evidence that would confirm this belief in a county that might be considered typical of all Michigan.⁷² He found that of 265 persons registered otherwise than of Michigan, 228 could be credited to New York and 25 to New England.⁷³

Table I shows the birthplaces of settlers in Washtenaw county before 1850. Over half were born in New York, while about one-fourth were natives of New England. Most of the rest were of foreign birth, Irish, English and German.

Table I

BIRTHPLACES OF WASHTENAW COUNTY RESIDENTS OF 1850.

Foreign	277
New York	374
Other middle Atlantic States	89
New England	224

965

The figures in Table I compare very closely with those obtained from a survey of the biographical sketches.⁷⁴ Most of the New Yorkers were born in New England or in New York of New England parents. Twenty-four per cent of the total were born in New England, thirty-eight per cent in New York. A study of the influential men of the county substantiated the other data but showed a greater portion of New England origin, indicating an influence beyond their actual numbers. Thirty-seven per cent of the members of the Legislature were from New England while forty-eight per cent came from New York. Over half of the New York members were from the western portion of that state.⁷⁵

Southern immigrants predominated in the earliest days of St. Joseph valley⁷⁶ but the opening of the Chicago road drew the stream from New York in that direction so that the southern influence was rapidly neutralized.⁷⁷ Pennsylvania

⁷²Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, note, 468ff.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 469.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 475-477.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 477-479.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 238-240, 257-259.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 240, 303.

Quakers and Pennsylvania "Dutch" (Germans) seem to have been an important influence in this region.⁷⁸

Mr. W. F. Baxter of Lenawee county copied the census of 1870 for his county, making computations for several towns. He found that three-fourths of the inhabitants of these towns were natives or children of natives of New York.⁷⁹

The pioneers of Saginaw valley are said to have been, for the most part, of New York and New England origin, New Hampshire and Massachusetts contributing considerable numbers.⁸⁰

The *Detroit Gazette* of January 16, 1827, estimated that nearly three-fourths of the immigration was from New York but this is probably much exaggerated.⁸¹ A more conservative estimate places the number from New England and New York at two-thirds.⁸²

Many of the smaller communities of the state bear names which were probably brought from New York or New England.⁸³ Although place-names are not very dependable evidence, they do, in a general way, help to verify the other evidence of the origin of the pioneers and the influence of their old environments on Michigan. If we ignore the large number of Indian, French and classical names, we should probably conclude that many groups of New York and New England people brought their names for the new communities with them from their old homes. There is evidence to indicate that names were often adopted by the new Michigan communities to attract immigrants from communities in the East bearing the same names.⁸⁴

The census returns of 1850 and 1860 bear out the other evidence regarding the origin of Michigan's population. Tables

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 302, 303; Collins, *History of Branch County*, 89; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 26-210.

⁷⁹*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 360.

⁸⁰Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 379; *History of Saginaw County*, 227; Butterfield, *Bay City, Past and Present*.

⁸¹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 481.

⁸²*Ibid.*; Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 335.

⁸³Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 240.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

2 and 3 indicate the birthplaces of the population in actual numbers and in their proportions to the whole.

TABLE 2

PLACES OF BIRTH—MICHIGAN RESIDENTS⁸⁵

	1850	1850-1860
Slave holding states	3,266	2,047
Michigan	140,648	
New England	30,923	7,583
Northwest (Except Mich.)	17,567	25,384
New York	133,576	57,372
Native-born	341,591	600,020 (Total, 1860)
Foreign-born	54,852	149,093 (Total, 1860)

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF ORIGINS

(In percentage)

RESIDENTS OF MICHIGAN, CENSUS OF 1850⁸⁶

Birthplace	% of population
Michigan	35.4
New York	33.6
New England	7.8
England, Scotland, Wales, British No. Am.	6.8
Northwest (except Mich.)	4.4
Middle Atlantic States, Iowa, Calif. and territories	3.9
Ireland	3.4
Germany	2.6
Other foreign countries	1.0
Slaveholding states	0.8
Unknown	0.3

"If New York may be called a second New England, Michigan may justly claim to rank as the third," writes Dr. Fuller after a careful study of the origins of the people in the older portions of the state. "Owing to the foreign immigration to New England," he continues, "Michigan represents today more nearly the blood of the Puritans than does New England."

⁸⁵Compendium of U. S. Census (1850), 116-118; (1860), 248.

⁸⁶Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 44; U. S. Census (1850), 116-118.

Later foreign immigration after 1848 found Michigan rather well filled up and moved on further west. It has been claimed that Michigan probably has a larger proportion of the original New England stock than any other state in the union.⁸⁷

With so much reliable evidence to substantiate the general claim of New England origin, directly and through western New York, one may safely assert that a large portion of the Puritan blood of old New England was transferred to Michigan, resulting in the transplanting of New England ideals, customs and institutions. Altered by the new environment, changing times and compromises with other ideas, these influences have, never-the-less, remained an important factor in shaping the social, political and economic life of the state.

Mr. Edward W. Barber, a generous and able contributor to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, has left for us an excellent story of the Vermontville colony⁸⁸ which will serve as an ideal example of the New England migration directly to Michigan. A brief summary of Mr. Barber's article will interest those who are not familiar with the original.

The organization of the Vermontville colony was due largely to the personal efforts of Reverend Sylvester Cockrane who used the enthusiasm for Michigan then so general in the East to his advantage in inducing members of his faith to unite in the formation of a colony, organized to settle a region in Michigan where homes, schools and a church would bless the pioneer who braved the venture.

With typical New England political instinct, a set of rules and regulations, organizing the colony, providing for its government and establishing strong spiritual and religious tenets, was drafted.

The first three clauses were stated as follows:

"Whereas the enjoyment of the ordinances of the gospel is in great part unknown in the western country; and

⁸⁷Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 482, citing McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 12; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 400; U. S. Census, (1870).

⁸⁸*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 197-283.

"Whereas, we believe that a pious and devoted emigration is one of the most efficient means, in the hands of God, in removing the moral darkness which hangs over a great portion of the valley of the Mississippi, and

"Whereas, we believe that a removal westward may be a means of improving our temporal interests, and we trust may be made subservient to the advancement of Christ's kingdom;

"We do, therefore, form ourselves into a colony with a design of moving into some part of the western country which shall hereafter be designated, and agree to bind ourselves to the following rules."⁸⁹

Among the rules passed was one providing for the abstinence from spirituous liquors, one for the observance of the Sabbath and a resolution regarding the establishment of facilities for educating the youth.

It was further voted to send three agents to seek a location, to require a note from each head of a family for the payment of twenty-five dollars toward the erection of a meeting house and that no person should be allowed to take more than 160 acres of land. The note was to be made payable within two years of its date.

The agents reported favorably on a location in what is now Eaton county, basing their recommendations on two reasons, as follows:

- (1) There was sufficient contiguous government land there.
- (2) The Clinton and Kalamazoo canal had been surveyed along that body of land within one mile.

The report was accepted and plans made to migrate to the place as soon as practicable.

The stories of Michigan lakes, woods and other advantages of the country helped to make it easy to enlist converts in any movement to Michigan. This movement of intensely religious peoples was no exception to the rule.

If the many Michigan pioneers brought New England or New York with them, the Vermontville colony certainly

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 204-206.

brought Vermont to Michigan. Home, schools, churches, religion, morality and virtue were the words most used by these settlers, as important in their vocabulary as the words bank, money and business are today in our industrial communities. An academy was established at an early date and a meeting house erected as soon as the pioneers could finance and build the same. Politics were instinctive to these Vermonters but there was a mixture of Whigs and Democrats. With the advent of the Republican party and its advocacy of freedom as opposed to slavery, the people of Vermontville became almost wholly Republican in their sympathies and votes. There were many cases of litigation in the courts of the church. Charges of prevarication and other similar offenses were numerous but the New England idea of settling disputes in an orderly and legal or quasi-legal manner always prevailed.

Another example of a New England colony is the settlement of Romeo in 1827.⁹⁰ Choosing the site partly for its resemblance to New England, the Yankee pioneers soon established for their community a reputation for culture and education which, in turn, induced many persons to settle in the community.⁹¹

The life of a Michigan pioneer was one of continued hardship, a struggle to conquer the wilderness and overcome its privations and disease. From the coming of the first Americans to the state there was a gradual transformation.

The early reports of the prevalence of disease in Michigan were not entirely unfounded. Due to the existence of large areas of swamp lands, the mosquitoes and a lack of proper sanitation, there was much serious illness. Only a hardy people could withstand the many attacks of typhoid fever, small-pox, dysentery, the ague and other serious plagues.

Most of the pioneers, it is said, suffered at some time from the ague; "fever 'n ager", they called it.⁹² In the earlier days

⁹⁰Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 170-171, citing History of Macomb County.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 613, 629-630.

⁹²*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 407.

they merely "wore it out" but later quinine was used as a specific remedy.⁹³

"Michigan rash" or "breaking out" was probably the "itch." It was a common malady and not confined to any particular class.⁹⁴

The mosquito was a universal pest among the Michigan pioneers. He was most numerous around the marshes but plentiful wherever there were woods and water. Before the days of bobinet screening, the smudge, smoldering in front of every door and window, was the only protection. Often it was brought into the house to gain some degree of immunity from the pests which had gained admission to the interior in spite of the smoke screens in their paths.⁹⁵

"Michigan appetite" was said to be a common "malady" among the pioneers. It was merely a highly exaggerated craving for food which rendered the plainest fare palatable.⁹⁶

Bed bugs, like fleas and mosquitoes, were universal pests of the realm. They lived "in the logs of the house and off the inhabitants."⁹⁷ There was no satisfactory way of combating them.

Quackery was a common and dangerous pursuit in Michigan until 1827 when the legislature enacted a law requiring the licensing of physicians. An examination and four years of apprenticeship, with options for scholastic training, were required for the granting of licenses while heavy penalties were provided for the violation of the law.⁹⁸

Conflict with the Indians was inevitable. It was the old story of a superior, civilized race coming in contact with a race of lower culture. A true Anglo-American, the Michigan pioneer disdained any intermarriage or social contact with the Indian. The characteristic encroachment of these American farmers upon the hunting lands of the natives was the principal

⁹³*Ibid.*, V, 302.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, V, 303.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 303-304.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 294.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, XXVIII, 139.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, XXII, 471.

cause of the trouble. The extinguishing of the Indian titles led to the sale of much public land between 1818 and 1830.⁹⁹

The life of these pioneers appeals to us for its unique combination of romance and home life. Michigan was settled by families. The New England home, transplanted directly and from New York, was probably one of the most important phases of New England influence. Large families and a consequent emphasis of home ties were characteristic. Families of twelve children were the rule rather than the exception.¹⁰⁰

The earliest Michigan pioneers lived a sort of repetition of the simple existence of their Puritan ancestors.

The open fireplace with its cooking equipment was a replica of the colonial type while the log houses, "rolled up" with the assistance of friendly neighbors, were the same primitive dwellings that sheltered the pioneers of Massachusetts Bay. Food, shelter and clothing were produced by the pioneer family sufficiently to satisfy its meagre wants but money was so scarce that it was often necessary to save for days or weeks to pay the high postage on a coveted letter while newspapers were prohibitive in price.¹⁰¹

Raisings and bees were the frontier method of voluntary coöperation to aid the individual family in doing what it could not do alone.

In this manner, the pioneers husked their corn, quilted bedding, raised buildings, cleared the land and enjoyed themselves with the girls in the evening.¹⁰²

In spite of the scattered population and the difficulties of communication, the pioneers were in many ways closer to each other than neighbors of to-day.

Husking bees were stag affairs but the boys came to the quilting bees in the evening.¹⁰³ The social part consisted largely of games, mostly of the kissing variety. A purely social bee was therefore generally termed a "bussing-bee."¹⁰⁴ Dances

⁹⁹Cooley, *Michigan*, 194-195.

¹⁰⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 356.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, V, 298.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 305.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

like the money musk were often a part of the program although frowned upon by some families.¹⁰⁵

"Logging-up" the timber was the wasteful means by which they cleared the land, little realizing the future value of the timber. Rail splitting was a specialized vocation as was "breaking-up". These two occupations were followed by experts much as threshing is today. Oxen and the "bull plow", made of wood except for the share and coulter, were employed to put the land in shape for cultivation.¹⁰⁶

Settlers often chose land similar to that they had left in the East.¹⁰⁷ The log cabin would be built thereon, usually without nails. A "modern home" of those days might have a porch with a roof and an eave trough along the front. The low upper story usually contained a bed from which one could touch the "shakes" (shingles) while lying down. Snow often sifted in sufficiently to cover the sleeper and any exposed clothing. The one-posted bed, built into the walls was common while the leather latch string and huge wooden latch usually adorned the doors. A cellar bottom located under the center of the house would contain the pork barrel and vegetables. Ladders for stairs and a huge fireplace with its stick chimney complete the picture.¹⁰⁸

The fireplace was the center of cheerfulness and comfort of the family, furnishing both light and heat. Cooking was done in the fireplace¹⁰⁹ with its iron crane to swing back and forth over the fire, supporting the kettles and pots of iron and copper. A brick oven or reflector baker served for baking and roasting.¹¹⁰

Wild berries and game were sometimes common but beef and pork were scarce. Domestic fruits were not to be had.¹¹¹ Maple syrup served as sugar and was sometimes used to sweeten winter-green tea, a common pioneer beverage.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 306.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, VII, 93.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, XXVI, 644-646.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, V, 293.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 294.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

¹¹²*Ibid.*

Wolves and other predatory animals were sources of no little annoyance and alarm.¹¹³

Whisky was commonly passed about at the raisings, but one Sidney Sweet, after two futile attempts, succeeded in staging a "dry" raising. He appealed to the friends of temperance in his part of the state with the result that a huge crowd gathered for the affair and the building went up in record time. This is said to be the first recorded successful attempt of its kind.¹¹⁴

A continuous effort for temperance resulted in the organization of many societies, most of them closely allied with the Congregational and Presbyterian churches,¹¹⁵ thus indicating a strong New York and New England influence.

In 1837 the few white painted buildings of the "down-easters" then dotting the landscape of Detroit were in strange contrast to the unpainted and weather beaten stores and dwellings of the French settlers. There were two completed brick store buildings on Jefferson Avenue while eighteen more were under construction.¹¹⁶ Many old white lead houses in New England to-day indicate the origin of this innovation in the early days of Detroit.

In 1821 the First Protestant Society of Detroit was organized¹¹⁷ while the Detroit Young Men's Society was founded in 1832.¹¹⁸ These organizations, together with the birth of the Pioneer Society in 1828,¹¹⁹ mark the dawning of consciousness on the part of the American element in Michigan. Lewis Cass was the organizer and first president of the latter organization.

The willingness of these pioneers to live under such frontier conditions and their vigorous efforts to establish a higher standard of living was due to the one purpose which motivated their lives, a determined resolution to give their children the benefits of prosperity which awaits those whose talents are

¹¹³Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 328.

¹¹⁴*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 94-95.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, V, 298.

¹¹⁶Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, I, 837-845.

¹¹⁷Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 178-181.

¹¹⁸*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 149; XVIII, 462.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 556.

ably applied in a new region calling for men to develop the land.¹²⁰

Numerous examples might be cited of pioneers who underwent the trying, wearing and often discouraging life in this new country, hoping only for the success of their children.

Pioneers from New York and New England often established schools for their children long before districts could be organized for the purpose.¹²¹ The pioneers "toiled more for others than for themselves." Many of the Michigan pioneers were well educated for their time. Hoffman tells of meeting cultured daughters and studious young lawyers in his travels through the wilderness of early Michigan.¹²²

The New England and New York migration brought with it the public desire for liberty and popular education.

The influence of New England men was sufficient to found a basis of educational development, even to the extent of importing teachers from New England.¹²³ The Puritan ideal of the church and school as fundamental institutions in every community was characteristic of Michigan.¹²⁴ In the words of John Pierce, "No new state ever started into being with so many warm and devoted friends of education as Michigan."¹²⁵

Governor Cass, a native of New Hampshire, had the thorough-going New England conception of education. He was probably the inspiration of an act in 1827, providing for common schools.¹²⁶

General Isaac E. Crary, another New Englander,¹²⁷ was the chairman of the committee on education in the first constitutional convention.¹²⁸ In this position he was instrumental in providing for the office of state superintendent of public instruction,¹²⁹ to which office he later obtained the appointment

¹²⁰Cooley, *Michigan*, 240.

¹²¹*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 520-521.

¹²²*Ibid.*, XXIX, 637.

¹²³Hoffman, *Winter in the West*, 198.

¹²⁴*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 454-455.

¹²⁵Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 486.

¹²⁶*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 45.

¹²⁷Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 92-93.

¹²⁸Streeter, *Michigan Biographies*, I, 208.

¹²⁹*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 456.

of Reverend John D. Pierce.¹³⁰ As Michigan's first Representative in Congress, he was responsible for the passage of the act which granted a section of land in each township to the state for educational purposes instead of to the individual townships.¹³¹ This formed the basis of our primary school fund and helped to equalize the benefits derived from the grants which varied much in their value.¹³²

Reverend John D. Pierce, the first person to fill such a position as state superintendent of public instruction, was born at Chesterfield, New Hampshire, in 1797.¹³³ A graduate of Brown University and of a theological seminary, he had come to Michigan as a home missionary. He was the author of the plan for a state educational system which the legislature approved without a dissenting vote.¹³⁴

Reverend Pierce was familiar with the recently published Cousin's report on Prussian education.¹³⁵ Much impressed by its thorough recommendations, he modeled the Michigan system along the same general lines, blending it with the Massachusetts school district for local control. The title of state superintendent of public instruction still used in Michigan is borrowed directly from the Prussian term.

Impeded by the frontier influence but encouraged by the Puritan ideals of education so firmly fixed in the minds of the pioneers, the first superintendent of public instruction compromised the ideal with the practicable, that it might better meet the ability of the people, financially incapable of supporting an elaborate and costly organization.¹³⁶ He well realized the inability of the tax payers to support county superintendents and long terms of school, free and universal.

As the head of the state school system, Mr. Pierce was responsible for the administration of the lands granted to the public schools and to the university. In response to the in-

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

¹³¹*Ibid.*, I, 39.

¹³²*Ibid.*, I, 40; XXII, 456; Streeter, *Michigan Biographies*, I, 208.

¹³³Streeter, *Michigan Biographies*, II, 194.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 40.

¹³⁵*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 38.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 39, 41; Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 487.

structions of the legislature, he prepared a plan of administration for the entire educational system, from the primary schools to the university. An important factor in the founding of the university, he opposed the spending of its resources for an expensive building, pointing out that scholarship and learning, rather than fine buildings, were the tools of education. His efforts against the consolidation of the small colleges of the state into state university probably prevented the passage of a bill designed to accomplish that end, as it lost by a single vote in the legislature. The defeat of the bill paved the way for the founding of the first modern state university.¹³⁷ While the educational advantages of Michigan were hardly such as would induce settlement on their own account, they were sufficiently evident to bring many from New York and New England who would have been deterred from settlement by the lack of educational facilities.¹³⁸

Many of the pioneers, having been well educated in the East, were staunch advocates of the cause.¹³⁹ A few of the more well-to-do of these people sent their children back East to complete their education.¹⁴⁰

The importance of education in early Michigan is indicated by the high social standing of the teacher in territorial days.¹⁴¹

Among the many able educators who have contributed their lives to the promotion and improvement of our state institutions are Dr. Angell,¹⁴² who shaped the destinies of the University of Michigan in its rise to a place of prominence among the great universities of the nation and Dr. William James Beal, the Grand Old Man of Michigan State College. The former was of New England nativity while Dr. Beal was a son of a pioneer from western New York and the grandson of a native of Massachusetts.¹⁴³

One effect of the great migration from the East was to bring

¹³⁷*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 41.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, VII, 36-51.

¹³⁹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 91-92.

¹⁴⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 619; *Michigan History Magazine*, April, 1918.

¹⁴¹Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 92.

¹⁴²*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1918.

¹⁴³Beal, *Genealogy of James and Elizabeth Beal, etc.*, 7, 9, 34.

about a frenzy of speculation with rapidly increasing values in land.¹⁴⁴ This undoubtedly led to the panic and hard times which followed but, as Mr. Bella Hubbard suggests, it resulted in many permanent improvements which formed the basis of future development.¹⁴⁵

Wild cat banking and paper money aided the fever of speculation and the resultant financial distress. Prices of labor and crops fell to a small fraction of those prevailing during the boom.¹⁴⁶ The fluctuating values left many failures in their wake. "Wealthy" speculators became penniless and money was so scarce that wooden bowls were used for change in Detroit while "shin plasters" and due bills were resorted to by the municipality and business concerns.¹⁴⁷

In spite of the distressing effects of the financial depression, the New England perseverance and sound common sense gradually tempered the pioneer enthusiasm for expansion and laid a firm economic foundation for future development. Banks and newspapers were permanently established¹⁴⁸ while a steady, if less dramatic, growth resulted.

During the territorial days representative government was gradually extended. In 1823 the legislative power was confided in a council of nine, increased two years later to thirteen. The councilmen were appointed by the President until 1827 when the offices became elective.¹⁴⁹

The influence of the New York and New England settlers was evident in the early crystallization of a desire for statehood, culminating in the adoption of the Constitution of 1835.¹⁵⁰

The New York township, varying somewhat from its New England ancestor, was implanted bodily in Michigan. In it, the executive authority of the New England selectmen is vested in a single supervisor who now serves as a county

¹⁴⁴Hubbard, *Memorials of Half a Century*, 93-94.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁴⁶*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 369.

¹⁴⁷Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*, 188.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 187; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 209; XXII, 483.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, XXII, 483.

¹⁵⁰Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 87.

official as well. Townships were often organized in Michigan years before counties were provided in the same region. Grand Blanc township in Genesee county and Allegan township in Allegan county are notable examples.¹⁵¹

In Michigan the New England town meeting was combined with the New York idea of a county board.¹⁵²

The early townships were of varying sizes, some of them being very large and including, occasionally, several counties. Often, they were coterminous with the counties, later being divided into political townships variable in size.¹⁵³

Michigan is said to have been the first western state to experience that New England school of democracy, the town meeting.¹⁵⁴ This, doubtless, was the natural expression of the New England instinct for self government.

The jurisprudence, constitutions and statutes of the New England pioneers in western New York had become quite famous, serving, often, as models accepted by the newer states.¹⁵⁵

The jurisprudence of Michigan was copied almost entirely from that of New York and New England while nearly all of the early judges were from those sections.¹⁵⁶ Our probate law is almost a duplicate of the Massachusetts law while our real estate law was taken from that of New York.¹⁵⁷ The procedure of our law courts from the justice court to the supreme bench was adopted almost bodily from that for New York.¹⁵⁸

Six of the ten territorial judges came from New England while the first chief justice of the supreme court was of New York origin. Judges Campbell, McIntyre, Cooley and Christianity, were all from New York. Of the two judges of our early chancery court, one was from New England, the other from New York.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁵² Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 236.

¹⁵³ Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 90-91; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, X, 63.

¹⁵⁴ Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 486.

¹⁵⁵ Roberts, *New York*, II, 459.

¹⁵⁶ *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 360.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 361.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*

The pioneers were intensely democratic. To their New England instinct to preserve the institutions of local self government were added the hopefulness of youth and a pioneer spirit of progress resulting from the severance of the old home ties with their conservative influences.¹⁶⁰

Like their forefathers who came to Massachusetts Bay, they represented the more venturesome and daring spirits of the time, eager to claim the opportunity which awaited them in a new land.

Tangible evidence of their confidence and venturesome spirit may be found in their improvement schemes and in projected railroads, built while Stevenson's "Rocket" was still a novelty in England.¹⁶¹

Mr. Floyd B. Streeter, in his study of about 700 ante-bellum political leaders, arrives at the conclusion that the origin of the pioneers greatly influenced their party preferences, both as to party and the faction within the party.¹⁶² "There was a slight tendency in the early days," he writes, "for the voters to split into parties and a greater tendency for the leaders to divide into factions on the basis of origin." Quite naturally, those who had come from New York were apt to be radicals while those of New England origin were usually conservatives.

"In both the Democratic and Whig parties," he continues, "the prominent men from New England and eastern New York tended to collect about a leader from their section to form a conservative faction while those from western New York and other sections recently reclaimed from the wilderness usually grouped about a radical leader from home."¹⁶³ The western New Yorker, usually poor, was naturally attracted to the radical wing of the Democratic party, then dominated by the popular frontier ideals of Andrew Jackson.¹⁶⁴

The Whig party was launched in Michigan by a group of Detroit men to oppose the assumption of power by the presi-

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 544-545.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, 545.

¹⁶²Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 1-2.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 5.

dent, the appointment of outside favorites to political positions in Michigan and the "demagogic methods" of the Democrats.¹⁶⁵

The "money class" and business men gradually united under the Whig banner to oppose the Democrats and their promotions of railways and other improvements considered beyond the means of the territory. Aided by the Panic of 1837 and hard times, as well as the prevailing tendency toward more conservative policies and retrenchment, the Whigs were victorious in 1839.¹⁶⁶

At this time the conservatives gained control of the Democratic party and were able in the next campaign to elect as governor, John S. Barry, a native of New Hampshire, whose business administration was noted for its economy and business-like methods. He is said to have sold the grass of the capitol lawn to aid the state treasury.¹⁶⁷

The conservative Democrats came in larger numbers from New England. Something of the effect of origin may be gained from the statistics of the constitutional convention. Of the fourteen conservative Democrats, six were from New England and but two from New York while fourteen of the twenty-eight radical Democrats had lived in New York. Of these, only two were born in New England.¹⁶⁸

Lucious Lyon and Elon Farnsworth, leaders of the conservative Democrats in the thirties, were both born in Vermont.¹⁶⁹

In the convention, the conservatives opposed the efforts of the office holding faction to grant suffrage to all males, twenty-one years of age, who had declared their intentions of becoming citizens and were residents of the territory the day the delegates were elected. This provision would have enfranchised the poor, uneducated class of foreigners, mostly small farmers living in the East-central part of the territory, a stronghold of the radical faction. They had been granted the

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 26-27; *Michigan Biographies* (1888), 259, 446.

right to vote for the delegates through the efforts of the radical group. The strong opposition of the conservatives, aided by the Whigs, forced the adoption of a substitute provision requiring citizenship.¹⁷⁰

The leaders of the radical faction of the Whigs were mostly young lawyers from western New York who sought to displace the older and more conservative Whig leaders.¹⁷¹

The conservative Whigs were composed largely of money men, few of whom were active in politics. They came mostly from New England but included among their numbers some from eastern New York and Virginia and a few from western New York.¹⁷² They feared the aliens would gain control of the government. Opposed to slavery, they, never-the-less attempted to keep the Whig party intact in 1854. Failing in this, a large number of them organized the Know-Nothing party and opposed the slavery agitation in true New England manner.¹⁷³

With the organization of the Republican party, the radicals from both major parties tended to join the new group.¹⁷⁴ They were composed largely of settlers from western New York.

Statistics from the American Anti-Slavery Society showed their membership to be largely in sections settled by western New Yorkers.¹⁷⁵ Michigan's Puritan population was particularly susceptible to the anti-slavery propaganda,¹⁷⁶ although the more conservative of the New England people depreciated its effect on the national spirit of unity.

The churches were particularly antagonistic to slavery.¹⁷⁷ In spite of the opposition of the national authorities of the more centralized church organizations, the Michigan and other western membership was actively opposed to slavery while the more decentralized denominations opposed it with great

¹⁷⁰Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 27-29.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 38-39.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷⁵*Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (1838), 152.

¹⁷⁶Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 64.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 48-50, 51-53.

vigor.¹⁷⁸ Altogether, the influence of the churches was a considerable factor in controlling the sentiment against slavery but church affiliation was usually synonymous with geographical origin.¹⁷⁹

The bias of school text books and teachers probably helped to instill in many pupils prejudices against slavery, founded, very often, on exaggerated and misleading information.¹⁸⁰

The Free Soil party was organized by dissatisfied Whigs, political abolitionists and a few radical Democrats.¹⁸¹

Both factions of the Whig party were opposed to slavery but the radicals were the more bitter, many bolting their party and candidate to support Van Buren on the Free Soil ticket.¹⁸²

While many radical Democrats were Wilmot Provisoists, the conservative element contended that popular sovereignty was the solution of the question.

The threat of General Cass to resign his seat in the Senate rather than follow the instructions of the state legislature to support the Wilmot Proviso and the consequent support which he received from the conservative and moderate factions was indicative of a growing spirit of nationalism among these people who, opposing slavery, were unwillingly to risk national unity by radical measures of opposition.¹⁸³

Most of the conservative Whigs, like the conservative Democrats favored, or at least accepted, the rendition act and a compromise with the South.¹⁸⁴

The radicals of both major parties, as well as the Free Soilers, opposed the rendition act at every hand, demanding its repeal and discouraging its enforcement.¹⁸⁵

By 1853 many school books contained much propaganda against the agitation of the Slavery issue, probably endeavor-

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 208-212.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 206, 229.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 53-55; *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 132, 88.

¹⁸¹Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan*, 88.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 85ff.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 115ff.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 126ff.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 125-126.

ing to teach the dangers involved.¹⁸⁶ Emma Willard's two editions of "History of the United States" condemned the agitation in no uncertain terms. Its adoption was urged by the state superintendent of public instruction.¹⁸⁷

The question of suffrage for the foreign born continued to be an important issue.¹⁸⁸ The Whigs opposed the granting of the ballot to these people who represented about one-third of the population. The foreigners of Michigan were generally uneducated and often illiterate. They lacked the able leadership of the later migrations to Wisconsin and the educational advantages of the "Latin farmers" of Illinois and Missouri.¹⁸⁹

We may see in these political conflicts and divisions a general radical tendency of the "double-distilled" New England stock from western New York and a general conservative tendency of the settlers who came directly from New England. It was not until the Civil War that the people of Michigan gave anything like undivided support to a party or faction unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery. The influential "squatter sovereignty" group could hardly be termed pro-slavery but it was opposed to any agitation likely to result in civil strife.

The characteristics of Michigan's pioneers were essentially those of New England brought directly and through New York to the new country. Unlike the hunter type in the earlier days of the southern frontier, these people were home-seekers, sociable, loving neighbors and founding communities. They looked forward to a time when they might enjoy the comforts and luxuries of the East and they never lost interest in their old homes.¹⁹⁰

These home-seekers, a thrifty, enterprising, plucky people, with high ideals of religion, morality and education, brought with them the New England home, the church and the school

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 39-40.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 40-41.

¹⁸⁸Compendium of U. S. Census (1850), 116-118.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 163-164.

¹⁹⁰*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVII, 544.

to transplant their superior culture in the wilderness of Michigan.¹⁹¹

Only a hardy people with great qualities of endurance, inherited from a rugged pioneer ancestry, could have withstood the hardships of nature and the long, trying years of toil on slowly improved farms.

In spite of their venturesome spirits, they retained their hard-headed individualism, preserving that essential incentive to progress and prosperity which would, in time, produce a better standard of living.¹⁹²

Their common sense, strength of will and domestic instincts more than balanced the unavoidable effect of the wilderness upon the nicer points of culture.¹⁹³

The New England traditions and intensified individualism of the Michigan pioneer glorified the individual character and merit, acting as a powerful moral force in social and public life.¹⁹⁴ Youth, schooled in the hard experience of economic distress, confident that a fuller and richer life awaited their children, worked courageously toward a coveted goal.¹⁹⁵

The adaptability of the New England pioneer which enabled him to "go light" when he moved to Michigan,¹⁹⁶ was again displayed in his adaptability to his new conditions when men of a variety of former vocations applied themselves to the necessary tasks of the new environment.¹⁹⁷

Despite his individualism, the pioneer had a strong realization of his social responsibility. Forming small communities, he participated in the local government while retaining a healthy interest in national affairs, even reading the speeches of Congressmen, printed in full in the newspapers of that day.¹⁹⁸

Economic equality, based on cheap land and a lack of accumulated wealth, was a certain basis for social democracy.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, XXII.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 545.

¹⁹³Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 487.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 488.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 483.

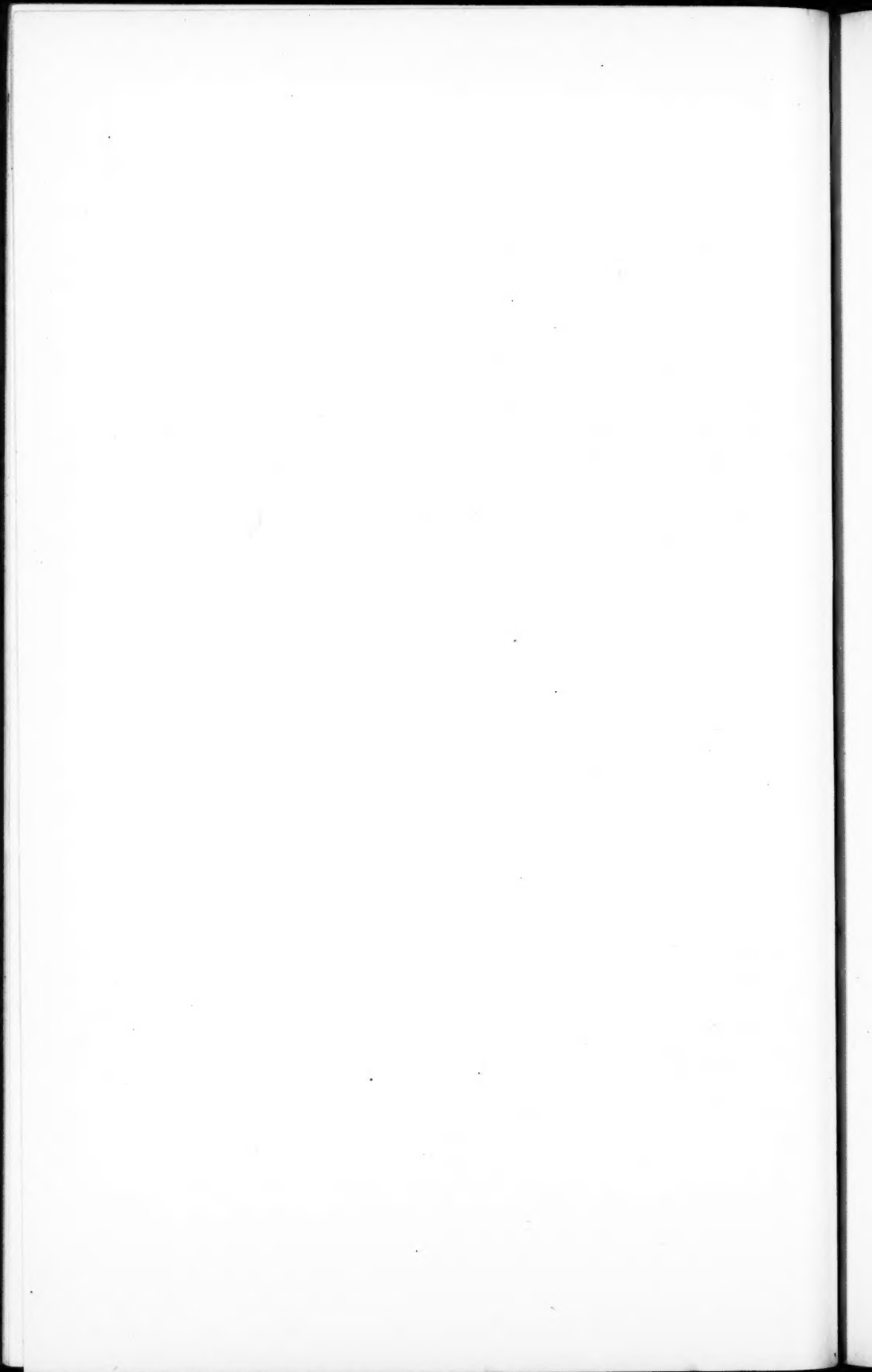
¹⁹⁶Hoffman, *Winter in the West*, I, 106-107.

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, I, 191.

¹⁹⁸Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, 485.

When almost any man could become a land-holder and no one was really rich, there was little opportunity to develop a social aristocracy.

It would be difficult to find in any land or any time a people more fitted to develop a new land than these New England pioneers. Their ideals, customs and institutions, their characteristic vigor and restless energy, their tenacity and courage have made possible the growth and development of our great industrial and agricultural commonwealth to a place of honor and importance among the states of the union. It stands today as the indestructible monument to their ability, foresight and unselfish devotion.



SAILOR LORE OF THE GREAT LAKES

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THE chain of the Great Lakes has undoubtedly been more intimately connected with the history and development of the state of Michigan and surrounding country than any other geographic fact. The St. Lawrence river system of which the Lakes are a part, provided an unsurpassed highway 2,000 miles inland to the heart of the continent which made possible an occupation of the Lakes region by the French which antedated most of the occupation of the Atlantic seaboard by the English.

It is not our purpose here to trace the eventful history of the Great Lakes—the struggles of the Native Indians and of three nations for their possession, and later their unprecedented agricultural and commercial development which has made them the busiest waterways in the world. Instead, we are concerned with an aspect of life on and about the Lakes that is little known, namely, the essentially human aspect as it is expressed in some of the lore that grew out of this rich and varied activity. We will omit the extant Indian stories and legends that portray for us the attitude of the Indian toward these bodies of water, and also the songs of the French voyageur to the rhythm of which he paddled his canoe from Quebec and Montreal to their farthest extremities. We will consider for a time some of the customs, stories, superstitions, weather lore, chanteys, and amusement songs that grew out of life aboard commercial sailing vessels when they dominated the commerce of the Lakes, that is, during the last half of the last century.

We are all quite familiar with ocean stories about pirates of the Spanish Main, of Fiddlers Green, of the Flying Dutch-

¹In its original form this article was prepared for the University of Michigan broadcasting service over WJR. The writer is preparing an extended article on the subject for the Centennial Encyclopedia of Michigan.—Ed.

man, of Moby Dick, of great storms and mysterious disappearances, of fast clipper ships in the China trade, and also with many of the songs that came out of sailing on the big full-riggers of the ocean. This material has given the oceans, particularly the Atlantic, a body of human associations and an atmosphere which stirs the imagination of even the most prosaic of us. There developed a kindred body of similar material upon the Great Lakes, but, of course, it was much less extensive than that which came from the ocean.

In the travel literature concerned with the region one comes across repeated references to sailor "yarns" and songs, and some quotations from them. These references and the great number of fragments still floating about prove the early abundance of this Great Lakes sailor lore. No one who knew this material at first hand, however, preserved any amount of it in writing, or at least, no such collection has so far been discovered. During the last few years I have visited many former schoonermen and their immediate families over much of the Lakes region, and from them have obtained a considerable amount of stories and songs and sayings and a large number of fragments of others. Some of the fragments of songs obtained from widely different sources fit together and thus make nearly complete units, while others still stand alone in spite of all attempts to locate additional parts. I have also been told of the existence of many other songs which I have so far not been able to obtain at all.

The golden era of sailing vessels upon the Great Lakes was from the close of the Civil War through the 80's of the last century. The industrial boom which followed the war was reflected in Lakes commerce, and traffic increased at an enormous rate. At the end of the war period most of the Lakes tonnage was sail. Barques, barquentines, schooners, fore-'n-afters, and vessels with other rigs existed by the hundreds, and ship building flourished in most of the Lake ports. The great grain fields of the West began doubling and quadrupling their output, and lumbering and mining on the borders of the Upper Lakes

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had become a major industry. In 1866 over one and one-half million tons of grain were shipped to Buffalo alone. Lumber shipments to Chicago totalled 400,000 tons and Lake Superior ore mines produced approximately 280,000 tons of ore which was sent mostly to Cleveland. A decade and a half later lumber shipments had greatly increased, grain traffic had doubled, and ore shipments had increased seven-fold.

In the early 70's sailing vessels had practically a monopoly of the bulk-freight trade. Lake steam boats up to this time had specialized in carrying passengers and package freight. The first steam bulk-carrier on the Lakes appeared in 1869, and as channels and other facilities were improved they increased in number until by the end of the century they had driven the sail boats from the Lakes with the exception of a few survivors, and thus came to an end the era which produced most of the Great Lakes lore. Story-telling, singing, and other such activities do not thrive on steam boats.

In the early part of this period a large percentage of the sailing vessels were individually owned, and very often by the masters themselves; and the men who composed the crew were all skilled professional sailors who usually looked upon landsmen with scorn. They would not recognize steamboat men as sailors. In the 80's when iron and steel steamboats increased rapidly in number, the schoonermen contemptuously referred to them and their crews as "iron ships and wooden men," and would have nothing to do with them. Steamboat men were not permitted to join the sailors' unions until as late as 1890.

During most of this period shallow channels limited the size of the sailboats to about 600 tons. The crews of the larger vessels consisted usually of one master, two mates, twelve sailors, and one "boy," or sixteen in all. As competition and machinery increased, the size of the crews was reduced by one-half or even more. After leaving port the captain was absolute master. He hired and fired his crew, chartered his vessel, collected freights, and at the end of the season or at other stated

times paid the earnings over to the owner, if he did not happen to be the owner himself. The mates were frequently local men, but not always.

The sailors in the early part of this period were largely from "down below," and came up to the Lakes from various ocean ports at the opening of the season because of the higher wages paid and the better living conditions, and then they returned to the ocean in the fall or spent the winter in Lake ports sailors' boarding houses. They were usually a drifting, hard-living, devil-may-care lot who sailed no more than necessary to keep themselves in spending money. Union regulations did not permit them to ship for more than one trip at a time, so they were paid off as soon as their vessel tied up at its destination, and they stayed ashore in the sailor boarding-house districts until an opportunity came to go out again. These districts, such as the old "Potomac" in Detroit, generally had a pretty bad reputation and unending tales of bloodshed, ribaldry, and mystery come from them. Local residents, except those who catered to the sailor trade, generally kept away from them. In later years, more and more of the sailors came from Lake ports, and Michigan, especially those sections bordering on the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, supplied a large proportion of them.

Many of the vessels of the period were the pride of the ship builder's art, and nothing was spared to make them as nearly perfect as possible. Their timbers and planking were usually of white oak, their cabins were finished in great luxury, and no material was too good for the rigging. One old sailor explained that such a vessel was appropriately referred to as "she" because the equipment would cost more than the hull. The masters often had great pride in these vessels and kept them in perfect condition. Not all the Lakes sailing vessels, however, were of this class.

The trips varied in length from a few days to a few weeks. The grain trade was mostly from Chicago and Milwaukee to Buffalo, and, depending on the sailing qualities of the vessel

and weather conditions, required from one to three weeks per trip. The ore trade was mostly from Marquette and Escanaba to Cleveland, and trips, especially from Lake Superior, required about the same length of time. The upbound cargo in both trades was usually coal or other coarse freight. The largest lumber market on the Lakes was Chicago and ultimately the prairie states. Large quantities were also shipped to Tonawanda, New York, or through the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence River to the ocean and Europe.

Sailing on the Lakes was, and still is, quite different from sailing on the ocean. On the Lakes the sextant and other navigating instruments were not used at all, but instead a method of dead reckoning came into use, and Lakes sailors developed an unsurpassed skill which enabled them to navigate the Lakes with great accuracy even in darkness, fog, and storms. There were many other difference which we can not go into which limited Lakes sailors to highly skilled men of great physical endurance. The present extensive government aids to navigation had not yet come into existence, and vessel officers had to have great skill both as sailors and as pilots.

Life aboard these great white-winged vessels had a quality that for lack of a better term we may call poetical, which was conducive to the growth of folk-lore. Even the names of some of the old lakers of this past era suggest this quality: the Moonlight, the Silver Wake, the Nellie Reddington, Our Son, the Twilight, the Morning Star, the Maple Leaf, the Golden West, the Belle Sheridan, the Golden Fleece, and others of the kind. These vessels, after leaving port with a cargo, seldom touched shore again until reaching their port of destination, and the members of the crew when not working had to supply their own diversion, and story-telling and singing was the usual means.

One hears frequently of vessel masters who would pay extra wages to sailors who were good entertainers and of sailors who would not ship on a vessel that did not have such a character aboard. A body of "yarns," superstitions, weather

rhymes and signs, and songs and other material grew up which was the common inheritance of Lakes sailors. The relative brevity of the growing period and the migratory nature of the men concerned did not permit the growth to root very deeply nor to reach a very large stature. Since the disappearance of the sailboats, however, much of it has become dispersed and forgotten with the men who lived it, and so lost to our day of industrial supremacy and 15,000-ton-cargo steel freighters. That which is still extant is mostly in the memories of the relatively few remaining men who sailed on the Lakes at the time who had a dash of poetry in their souls which enabled them to retain some of it during the half-century which has elapsed since the passing of the experiences out of which it grew. One also finds some of it in strange company—interpolated in old logs, account books, and other records—and some of it got into the travel literature and newspapers of the time. The nature of the material forbids uniformity.

The types of Lakes stories generally known as a "yarn" seems to have grown up for the delectation and worry of that member of the crew of the sailing vessel known as the "boy," who was frequently some landsman turned apprentice-seaman, who was possibly older than most of the other members of the crew, or possibly he was a boy in years as well as in his job. Men still living in Lake ports, who began sailing when twelve years of age or less will tell of listening wild-eyed to tales of vessels mysteriously disappearing with all hands, of being sucked down beneath the surface by great whirlpools, or even through underground channels from one lake to another. They heard of vessels being boarded by savage Indians while in the vicinity of the islands of northern Lake Huron and of whole crews being slain; of Mormon pirates from the Beaver Islands attacking passing vessels, killing the crews, taking what they wanted of the cargo, and then sinking the vessel. Tiger fish often followed vessels the length of Lake Huron eager to devour any "boy" who might fall overboard. Collisions with whales or great sea-serpents with loss of vessel and all hands

were not uncommon. I was told recently of a trip of a large grain schooner which had two country lads for boys, and the mate had them standing watch and watch on the fore-yard-arm, from Saginaw Bay to the Straits, "the dangerous part of Lake Huron," so they could sing out should a large whale appear over their bow. Small whales, under one hundred feet in length, did not matter. It seems it was general practice for saloon keepers on Canal Street, Buffalo, to get inexperienced sailors drunk, take their money away from them, and then drop them through back-room trapdoors into the canal where their bodies would be found floating about later.

Other stories were of a less dire nature. Some most extraordinary feats of blind navigating have been performed on these Lakes. Vessels have sailed forth in fogs so thick that the mate couldn't tell which man of his crew he was cussing, and in due time, after they had completed their trip and lay at anchor until the fog lifted, they have found themselves at a distant port "not a vessel's length" from their intended destination. Paul Bunyan, the prodigious north Michigan lumberman, also performed some of his unequalled feats in the lumber trade on the Lakes. He would at times take enormous rafts of logs down the Lakes and cause great hazards to navigation. Should a vessel run afoul of one of these rafts or get caught in its wake, its chances of survival were less than nothing. Paul towed his raft with a line from ten to twenty feet in diameter from a canoe which he paddled, or at times he "poled" them down the Lakes. On one occasion one of his rafts jammed in the St. Clair River, stopped the flow of water, and hundreds of vessels in Lake St. Clair and the Detroit river were left stranded. Of course, the water in Lake Huron rose, causing much damage to shore cities, and finally burst through with a flood that took his raft and all the stranded vessels down to Lake Erie.

Ghosts of phantom ships have been sighted on these waters. Look-outs have reported picking up vessels at a distance, sometimes high out of the water with their masts or stacks pointing

downward. On calm evenings when a storm was brewing, La-Salle's Griffon has been sighted skirting the north shore of Lake Michigan. The Lady Elgin, which was rammed and sunk with a loss of about 300 lives, has been seen steaming along to the southward on the same lake. On Superior the freighter Bannockburn used to appear at irregular intervals.

Many early vessels with enormous quantities of gold in their safes and valuable cargoes aboard are known to be in certain secret places on the bottom of the Lakes, but the only individuals who know just where they are have usually just died, or, if living, are making secret plans to salvage the fortune. A newspaper dispatch of less than two weeks ago told of the approximate whereabouts of the steamer John E. Hall on the bottom of Lake Ontario, and only one man, a local captain, knows the exact location and is planning salvage operations. This steamer, however, has only a puny \$6,000 cash in her safe.

Superstitions among schooner sailors on the Lakes, as far as I can learn, bear a close resemblance to those current among ocean sailors at the time, and were probably brought here by the "salties," who came to the Lakes for seasonal work. Most of them deal with bad omens. It seems to have been a general custom for vessels and crews which began a season on Friday to come to grief. Should a vessel stick on the ways while being launched, she had a bad future. A cross-eyed sailor aboard made a vessel hard to steer, and a corpse aboard brought certain disaster. Whistling would bring bad head winds; and, of course, rats leaving a vessel was a sure sign of approaching disaster.

Weather was the continual concern of the men aboard the old sailing vessels. Their passage was entirely dependent on its vagaries and often their lives. The unending tales of storm tragedies on these waters impress us with the seriousness of weather to Great Lakes sailors. Ocean ships could heave-to and ride out a storm, or possibly run before it, but on the Lakes dangerous lee shores were never more than a matter of hours away. Nor had the government weather forecast come

into use. The sailors had to depend pretty largely upon their own ability to read nature's weather signs. Under these conditions the Lakes sailboat men collected and invented an elaborate weather lore and many of the old sailors still living about the Lakes swear by its dependability. The direction of the wind, color of the sunrise and sunset, nature of the moon's appearance, brilliance of the stars, height and character of the clouds, solar and lunar halos, northern lights, behavior of sea gulls, and scores of combinations of these foretold to the old schoonermen approaching weather conditions. I can give but a few examples:

"Evening red and morning gray will set the sailor on his way. But evening gray and morning red, will bring rain down upon his head." "When the wind shifts against the sun, watch 'er boys for back she'll come." If you can hang your oilskins on the horns of the new moon, (that is, if they point upward) you'll not need them. If the stars appear large and clear expect wind and rain. Clouds apparently going cross-wind indicate the near approach of a hurricane. A ring around the sun or moon means bad weather. "A sun-dog in the morning will bark before night." Northern lights mean cold weather. Seagulls flying high and out over the land indicate an approaching storm.

The songs are perhaps the most outstanding part of the lore that came out of the era of Great Lakes sailing vessels. They are of two general types: first, the work song, or chantey, and second, the amusement song. The chantey was brought to the Lakes by the salt-water sailors, and their chanteys predominated throughout the sail-boat era on the Lakes. Such ocean chanteys as, "Paddy Doyle's Boots," "Whiskey Johnnie," "Blow the Man Down," "Sally Brown," "Reuben Ranzo," "Shenandoah," "The Rio Grande," (and pronounced in proper sailor fashion with a long "i") "Homeward Bound," and others were used when appropriate for the work at hand. There were also some of local origin. The chantey was used to enable a number of men to work in unison on a capstan, windlass, on a line, or at other work about a sailboat.

Songs were used that had rhythms that fitted the work to be done. Some individual, usually known as a chantey-man, would "line out;" that is, he would sing a line of a couplet, and the rest of those engaged with the work at hand would follow with a roaring chorus, usually of two major beats, which would provide for two good pulls or whatever kind of an effort was required. Then the chantey-man sang the second line of the couplet while the men rested, and then came the second part of their chorus with two more pulls. These chanteys usually had no set words, and each couplet might be independent of the one preceding and following it. A good chantey-man could make up appropriate verses that would last as long as was required by the particular work to be done. The rhythm was all-important; the lines might concern the vessel, her officers, cook, trip, cargo, or experiences ashore. The following will illustrate:

We're homeward bound for Cleveland² town;
 Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
 We're homeward bound for Cleveland town;
 Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

The girls in Chicago are real good to us;
 Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
 They loved us so well, their Jack, Pete, and Gus;
 Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

Though we leave with regret, it's happy I be,
 Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
 For a lass in Cleveland's a 'hanker'n for me,
 Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

We're homeward bound with wheat in her hol',
 Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
 We'll crack on the canvas and then let 'er roll,
 Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

Oh, down the long Lakes to the Straits we will sail,
 Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
 Down through old Huron where a tug we will hail,
 Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

²The name of any other appropriate port could be substituted.

Then down through the Rivers in a tow fore-n-aft,
Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
If not stuck on the Flats, we're on Erie at last,
Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

We're homeward bound with two weeks pay,
Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
An' when at Cleveland for Canal Street we'll lay,
Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

Oh, I think I heard the Old Man say,
Goodbye, farewell; goodbye, farewell!
Oh, I think the Old Man said, "belay,"
Hooray my boys, we're homeward bound!

Another began,

In a handy three-master I once took a trip,
Hurrah lads, heave her down
And I thought that I was a'board a good ship,
Way down, laddies down!

It might be added that chanteys were sometimes sung in waterfront saloons, the sailors lined up at a bar drinking while the chantey man sang, and then all joining in on the chorus. Not infrequently good marching songs that were popular at the time were used when appropriate. For example, in the decade following the Civil War many an anchor was brought in to the stirring rhythm of "Marching Through Georgia."

The chantey disappeared from the Lakes when competition reduced the size of the crews and put "donkey engines" aboard to do much of the work formerly done by groups of sailors. However, old residents of such ports as Buffalo, Chicago, or about the harbors of refuge along Michigan's shores, still recall hearing a whole crew bellowing out a chantey as they heaved in an anchor or put on canvas. Likewise old residents of Port Huron recall hearing at all times of day and night the crews of a tow of schooners chanteying as they made sail preparatory to dropping the tug as they entered Lake Huron.

The amusement songs were of a different character and many more of them survive. They were sung on various oc-

casions to provide diversion for the men concerned. A man was not a good sailor unless he could provide some kind of entertainment. Time was whiled away in forecastles listening to songs of some singer who not infrequently accompanied them by an accordion, guitar, or other instrument. Crews windbound under an island or in some harbor would at times gather in the forecastle of one vessel and every man had to tell a story, sing a song, or if room dance a jig. In waterfront saloons those who could not provide such entertainment had to buy the drinks. Some of the songs used were those popular on shore at the time. Some were brought up from the ocean, and still others were those made up about different vessels, trips, races, disasters, and other such subjects. Perhaps the best known of all these is the old song about the "timber drover Bigler ahailin' from Detrite," which in a semi-humorous mood tells of the fortunes and misfortunes of this vessel on a trip from Milwaukee to Buffalo. The rousing chorus from this song has been used with a number of other Lakes songs:

What 'er, catch 'er, jump up on 'er, jubberju,
Give 'er the sheet, and let 'er go
We're the boys to put 'er through!
You ought to see her howling, the wind a'blowin' free
On our passage down to Buffalo from Milwaukee.

Another song about a lumber carrier begins,

Now sit you down beside me,
And I'll sing you a little song,
And if I do not please you
I'll not detain you long.
I shipped in Tonawanda,
Some timber for to bring
From Toledo at a dollar a day,
On the barque the Jennie P. King.

There is a chorus and a number of other stanzas which describe the members of the crew and the trip. A well known

song entitled "The E. C. Roberts," or at times "The Red Iron Ore," narrates the cruise of an ore carrier from Chicago to Escanaba where she loaded with ore, and then went down the Lakes to Cleveland. It ends with,

Now we're in Cleveland, made fast stem and stern,
And over the bottle we'll spin a good yarn.
I think Captain Ramage had ought to stand treat
For getting to Cleveland ahead of the fleet.

Another lively song much less known than either of these tells of a fleet of grain carriers leaving Chicago for Buffalo, and a race they had down the Lakes. It tells of towing out of the Chicago harbor into a pretty strong blow, and starting down the lake with a large fleet of others. Her canvas is put on "to a hearty halyard song,"

The wind's nor'west and a-blowin' aH night,
See them big seas roll with their bonnets all white!
And far o'er our starb'rd rail
Is half a hundred sail,
Hooray! for a race down the Lakes!

They hoist a broom high o'top their mainmast as a challenge to the others, and then put on all sail,—

The rainbows playing forward and the foaming wake aft,
With her decks all aslant beneath her bending mast;
See the old man grin
As she bellies in the wind,
Hooray! for a race down the Lakes!

They skirt the western shore of Lake Michigan and finally near the straits and the songs end with,

Let the old ponds roar
As they've often done before,
Hooray! for a race down the Lakes!

There seems to have been at this time quite a body of French dialect songs floating about the Detroit River district,

and some, such as the "Look-n-See," and the "Let 'er Fly," became quite well known. Perhaps the best of these is the one dealing with the "wreck of the wood scow Julie Plante," which narrates the sad end of this famous craft. It opens with,

On wan dark night on Lac St. Claire
De win' she blo', blo', blo',
An de crew of de wood scow Julie Plante
Get scar an' run below.
De win' she blo' lak hurricane
By-n-by she blo' some more
An' de scow bus' up on Lac St. Claire
Three acre from de shore.

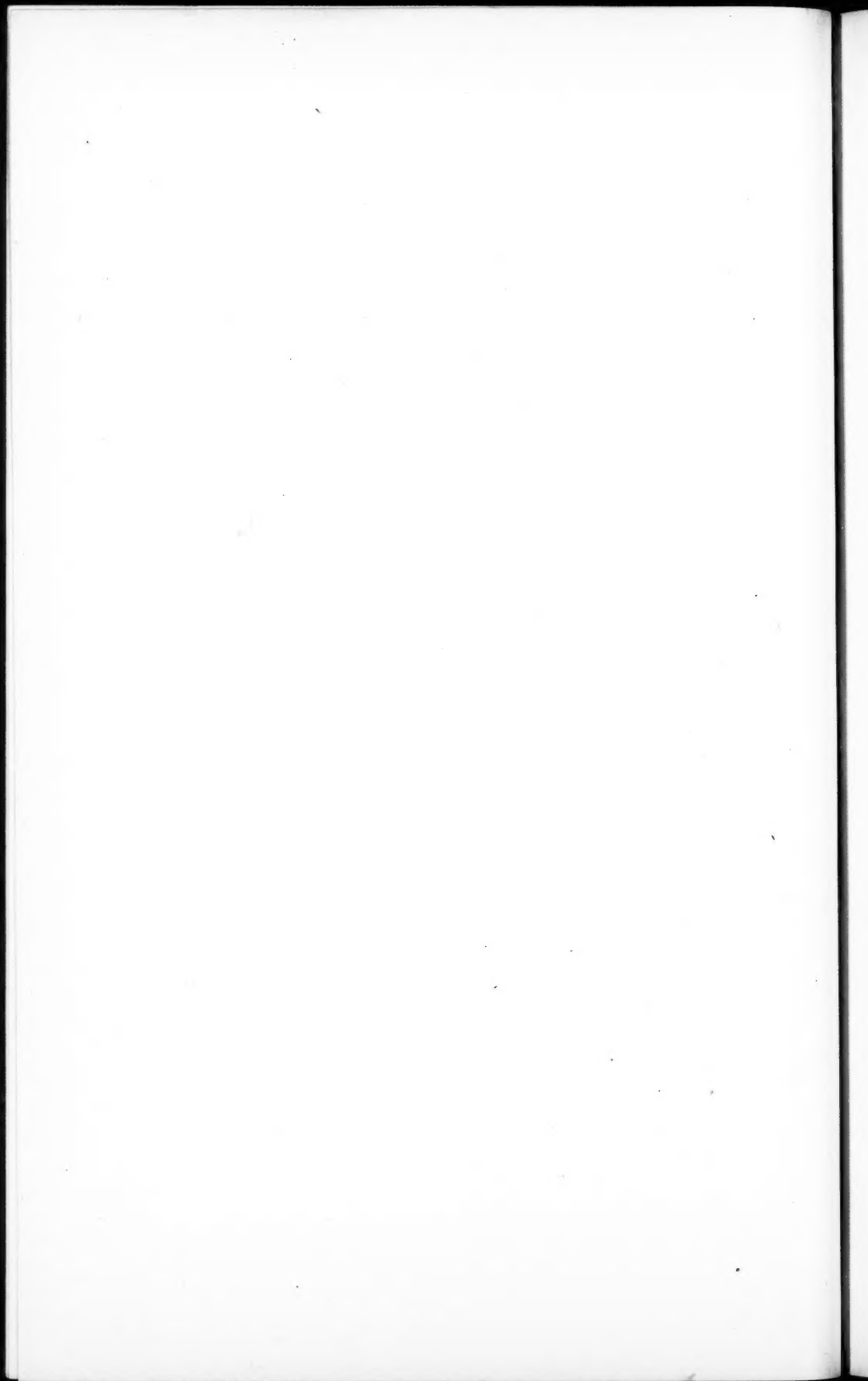
This song is usually attributed to the Canadian poet Dr. Drummond who included a version applying to "Lac St. Pierre," in one of his publications, but there is evidence that the French scowmen on the Detroit River sang it before Dr. Drummond's day. The French wood-scow sailors also used some of the old voyageur canoe songs as halyard chanteys.

Songs telling of disasters of various kinds were quite numerous. Mention had been made of the enormous number of vessel disasters and the consequent loss of lives of hundreds of sailors. Many of these disasters have memorials in songs. Such is the case with the Lady Elgin, the Alpena, the Chicora, the Old Bay State, the Gilbert Mollison, the Maggie Hunter, the City of Green Bay, the Persian, and many others. The song "The Loss of the Schooner Persian," well known about the Lakes and frequently parodied, ends with,

Around Presque Isle the sea birds scream
In mourning notes along;
They'er chanting forth a requiem,
The dismal funeral song;
They skim along the waters blue,
And then aloft do soar
In memory of the Persian's crew
On Huron's rock-bound shore.

There were also other types of songs not mentioned here, songs of tug-boats, of various well known characters, of shore incidents; and not all are publishable.

Perhaps no single item of this Great Lakes lore is particularly important, but taken together, even the relatively small amount of it that has been assembled makes a significant contribution to American and Canadian folklore. It preserves for us the spirit of this past day on the Lakes and at least a part of this varied human experience that is now forever gone. Large steel freighters now carry the Lakes commerce, and one of their cargoes would supply loads for twenty or thirty of the old sail boats. Precision and efficiency have come to the Lakes, but an heroic quality which produced an interesting lore departed with the old sailing vessels.



THE COPPER RUSH OF THE 50'S

BY JAMES K. JAMISON,

ONTONAGON

ALMOST coincidental with the discovery of gold in California, copper was discovered on the northern peninsula of Michigan. The copper discovery slightly antedates the gold discovery, and the rush following each had some common participants.¹

The gold rush and the copper rush present strikingly similar aspects, differing chiefly in scale. The participants, as individuals, were alike in all respects and there appears now little to differentiate the forty-niner of Michigan and the forty-niner of California. One rounded the Horn while the other rounded Keweenaw Peninsula and in this juxtaposition of the geographical scale is the whole story. The one rush was a miniature of the other. The one dealt in a precious metal, the other with a base metal.

These differences and their consequences were, however, more apparent than real. Timed to have fallen outside the shadow of the gold rush, the Michigan copper rush would have become an episode in the history of American expansion of considerable more importance than it was. But it had a still more important handicap. It was not, either then or since, publicized. It had no publicity agent, conscious of his function or otherwise. Bret Harte, finding himself in Michigan instead of California, could not have altered the circumstances, but he could have altered the popular subsequent view of the circumstances. Happening at another time and provided with a Bret Harte, the Michigan copper rush might conceivably have loomed large in the imaginations of later generations interested in the picturesque aspects of rough men in a rugged environment who were animated by a desire for quick riches.

¹Speech of Peter White at Sault Ste. Marie, Aug. 3, 1905, on the occasion of the Semi-Centennial celebration to commemorate the opening of the Soo Canal, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 345ff.

All the materials with which Bret Harte and other writers of his school worked were at hand in the Michigan copper rush. Nor were other elements lacking. The California melodrama was enacted against a vividly romantic Spanish colonial background, but the Michigan melodrama was enacted against an equally vivid and romantic French-English colonial background. Spanish colonial horses and ranches are merely to be traded for French-Indian canoes and fur-trading posts. As for the plot and characters of the melodrama, they are identical.

Incidents of picturesque violence and essential melodrama have been elaborately employed by most writers who seek to catch and convey the tempo and tone of the American frontier. On a hundred sectors of that frontier picturesque violence has been made to assume large romantic aspects. This romanticism has been built into no small part of our popular literature. It is not unlikely that this literary activity has persuaded many of us to believe that the sectors most important historically were those in which this romanticism has been most elaborated.

It is the picture done in gay colors that attracts and fascinates. We shall always live glamorous lives vicariously. We shall always live as though an adventure is to befall just around the next bend. Life is made bearable to the little, thin-necked clerk by vicarious heroism. In our timid lives swashbuckling on imaginary stages is a necessary compensation. Nor are we ever too discriminating. The embroidered velvet mantle of romance may be thrown about the shoulders of a common robber and thug to put a kind of American Robin Hood upon the scene. We cherish our Lafittes, our Billy the Kids, our James Boys. Picturesque violence with romantic embellishments is a vast influence in American life.

There is an immediate and urgent application. One is impressed nowadays by the advertising campaigns of various sections of America designed to allure tourists. "Romantic history" are catchwords of these advertisements. Invariably this "romantic history" is a history of attempts at or consummated

quick, violent exploitation of a natural resource. "A thousand tales shall not exhaust this treasury of romance" advertises northern California.² It is, of course, an adroit purpose to exploit the history of an exploitation. It is obviously the discovery of a newly acquired resource.

If "romantic history" is now to become a resource, then indeed northern Michigan is to discover new and vast wealth.

In the prologue it would appear that the copper rush surpasses the gold rush in most of the essentials of sound melodrama. It begins with James Kirk Paul, than whom no more picturesque character ever entered upon an American frontier scene. He enters by paddling his canoe into the mouth of the Ontonagon river on May 3, 1843.³ He came with the avowed purpose of stealing the then legendary copper boulder⁴ from the Indians.

Paul, born in Virginia, had been a soldier in the Black Hawk War, and was a graduate of that picturesquely violent frontier, the Mississippi river itself, during the time it developed the half-horse and half-alligator rivermen.⁵

The episode of the removal of the Ontonagon copper boulder from its site in the bed of the river in 1843 antedates the discovery of gold in the mill race at Sutter's ranch by five years, and it is, by all tests, superior drama. It embraces a quarrel with the Indians, a strange and fantastic, ingenious American bit of engineering in the wilderness and the final loss of the treasure.⁶

But Paul remained at the mouth of the Ontonagon river, setting up a log tavern of the most squalid kind which came to be known as "The Deadfall". Here Paul received the vanguard of the copper rush and here he established the metropolis of the copper rush.⁷

John H. Forster, afterwards a state senator, made a trip to the new copper district in 1846 and he has left a record

²May 6, 1933 issue of *Saturday Evening Post*.

³Paul's answer in suit in District Court filed Nov. 17, 1860.

⁴Now on exhibit in Smithsonian Institution.

⁵Carl Sandberg, *Abraham Lincoln*.

⁶James K. Jamison, "The Historic Pebble."

⁷The present town of Ontonagon.

his description of
copper country
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of what he saw.⁸ He took a boat at Detroit on which two hundred passengers were crowded, "shrewd Yankee, suave Southern, gay Canadian-Frenchman, taciturn half-breed, jolly John Bull who is going to show them how to mine the blarsted country". As for the copper metropolis in 1846, Forster found: "On the right bank, near the mouth of the river, two or three acres of land have been cleared. This clearing is covered with the tents of the explorers, with only two buildings, Jim Paul's cabin and the government agency. Jim is a noted character from the southern states, half horse and half alligator, but a man of much shrewdness and native wit. His cabin is a public house: chief entertainment whiskey and tobacco. The river is full of the explorers' boats. They come here to rest and replenish their stores. the crews, a motley crowd, old voyageurs, Frenchmen, half-breed Indians, take this occasion to indulge in drinking, carousing, fighting and all manner of frontier excess. At times the scene is like an arena of infuriated wild beasts.—These copper hunters were in truth, with their slouch hats, flannel shirts, mocassins, iron clad trousers and unkempt hair, eager, determined, impressionable fellows, indifferent to heat, wet, cold, hunger and toil, and with plenty of wild oats to sow. Bursting from the woods after a long sojourn, with a shout and a bound, their greetings were not of the gentlest".

John R. Forster is a qualified observer in the present connection. He was a participant in both the gold rush and the copper rush.⁹

These sentences from James Truslow Adams' *The Epic of America* are written of the California gold rush but they might have been written with equal applicability of the Michigan copper rush. (1) "Thus far every American frontier had been settled by agriculturalists after the first advance of hunters and trappers and Indian traders". (2) "Every type of citizen of every social grade and profession came—to get rich as quickly as possible by a happy stroke of luck". (3) "In 1850

⁸*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 342 ff.

⁹Speech of Peter White at Sault Ste. Marie, August 3, 1905, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 345 ff.

only two percent of the population—were women". (4) "Most of the men had come with no intention of remaining but had expected to return home as soon as they had made the fortune which they anticipated would inevitably await them".

Not in degree but in scale is the difference. Adams notes that a contemporary estimate places the number of murders in the California gold rush at twelve hundred, with three hangings. This is for comparative years with the copper rush. And, of course, the Michigan copper rush produced no such gigantic violence as that. But it did produce enough. "All manner of frontier excess" is a broad caption but the copper rush violence needs it. The rule was thoroughly proved that life is held cheaply and property is held dearly in rushes on frontiers. The copper rush code was thoroughly established: If a man interferes with your property rights, kill him, most certainly.

When Paul arrived at the mouth of the Ontonagon river in 1843, the Indian title to the lands there was not extinguished in all respects. Paul believed that he was pre-empting all the lands on either side of the river about the mouth. He began selling lots in a town site that he didn't own. His claim upon these lands led to much litigation¹⁰ and more bloodshed.

For example, at a session of the district court¹¹ at Ontonagon in June, 1854, one William Spalding brought suit against Paul for assault for damages in the amount of ten thousand dollars. It is to be noted that this is a plain civil suit. No criminal action was brought against Paul then or at any other time for assaulting Spalding. The language of the plaintiff's pleading is as follows: "For the said defendant, James K. Paul, on the 25th day of June, A. D. 1848, with force and arms, in and upon said plaintiff did make an assault and him, the said plaintiff, did then and there shoot, bruise, beat and wound so that the said plaintiff became sick, sore, lame and

¹⁰*Michigan Reports* (Supreme Court) Vols. 1 & 2: Matter of Henry Seby, Daniel S. Cash and Another, Appellants.

¹¹The entire Upper Peninsula comprised a judicial district, Judge Daniel Godwin, Detroit, presiding. Since travel was limited to water transportation, court was held only during the season of open navigation.

disordered and so remained and continued for a long space of time, to wit, for the space of five years and eleven months."

What Spalding had done to incur Paul's wrath was to dispute his ownership of land.

The defendant's answer to the suit is illuminating. It merely pleaded the statute of limitations: "that said supposed cause of action did not accrue to said plaintiff at any time within six years next before the commencement of this suit."

There was law in the copper rush but it was of limited application so far as it was resorted to by those who used it. It was property law. The very first action filed in the district court was a petition asking for an injunction to restrain one Lathrop Johnson from piling logs on a lot which he was doing with the deliberate intention to obstruct the petitioner's attempt to build a law office there.¹²

Paul was not the only one who was protecting his property rights by violence. Others quickly adopted his procedure. For example, he attempted to build a fence on a disputed line. What occurred then is adequately described in the language of a true bill returned by a grand jury: ". . . upon their oaths present that on the 10th day of April, A. D. 1851 . . . Lathrop Johnson and Sophia Johnson being then and there armed with a dangerous weapon, namely a certain gun then and there loaded with gun powder and laden (sic) shot, did make an assault in and upon one James K. Paul with intent to murder. . ."¹³

As a matter of fact, Lathrop and Sophia Johnson suffered no hardship from this indictment. The circumstances were that Sophia, indignant at her vacillating husband, had grabbed the gun out of his hands and shot Paul herself. Apparently she was a lady who could look after her property in the copper rush without the assistance of any man. If Johnson had done the shooting perhaps the grand jury would have overlooked the incident. But what were you going to do when a lady starts shooting? You couldn't very well shoot her. That

¹²District court files in office of Ontonagon County Clerk.

¹³*Ibid.*

would not do even in the copper rush. So they indicted her to scare her a little and then forgot it. Paul didn't forget it for a while. One witness testifying before the grand jury related that he heard the shot and "saw Mr. Paul running and hollowing (sic) oh oh". Another witness related that "Mr. Paul is at my house badly hurt. The shot struck him on his neck, shoulder, breast and abdomen. I took several shot out of his breast."

Abner Sherman of the Ontonagon copper rush was at one time a state senator, sent by the Ontonagon district to Lansing. He was a lawyer, an orator, a prospector. One suspects that he may have been some other things but refrains from naming them. He is the personification of the copper rush. As a senator, he was very active in opposition to Dr. Tappan's policy as president of the University of Michigan, and upon occasion bitterly sarcastic of Tappan's desire to change his title from president to chancellor. There was a joint resolution before the senate to "invite" the "Reverend Doctor" Tappan to address the legislature. Sherman, the voice of the copper rush, moved to amend the resolution by making it read "permit" instead of "invite", and by making it read "Kanzler" Tappan instead of "Reverend Doctor" Tappan.

President Tappan got off very easily at the hands of Abner Sherman. Listen to the language of a complaint in district court, made by one Thomas Hughes: "That on the 4th day of September, A. D. 1855, Abner Sherman did then and there threaten the life of this deponent by drawing a pistol and presenting it at the breast of this deponent and saying, 'Damn you, I will put a ball right through you'".¹⁴

Sherman was merely bonded in a nominal amount to keep the peace.

More than one incident of a picturesque nature occurring in the copper rush gave rise to litigation that came finally to the state supreme court. The one here cited is cited because it involves gambling and proves that this picturesque phase

¹⁴District court files in office of Ontonagon County Clerk.

of the romantic history of the gold rush was a picturesque phase of the romantic history of the copper rush as well. In addition, it throws additional light on Abner Sherman. The case cited is *Hogan vs. Sherman*, heard by the supreme court sitting at Detroit, in May, 1858.¹⁵ The occurrence itself was of course some years earlier.

The circumstances are somewhat obscure but they are peculiar so far as they are revealed. Of the game itself, it is stated that it was with cards (poker) and the amount involved in the litigation indicates that the stakes were high. Two of the players are identified as Hogan and Westbrook. Abner Sherman testified that he was not present "when the game concluded or when the note was given", an implication that he was present during the progress of the game. Westbrook won a large amount from Hogan and Hogan settled his debt with a "due bill". For some reason the note was made payable to Abner Sherman. Sherman testified that this was done "without his knowledge or consent". Hogan, drawing the note in favor of Sherman, handed it to Westbrook to pay his debt. But he requested Sherman not to indorse it and Sherman so promised. Subsequently, Westbrook, the note now in his hand, requested Sherman to indorse it, and Sherman did indorse it. But then, remembering that he had promised Hogan not to indorse it, he caused his indorsement to be erased. Sherman in his testimony in district court stated: "I know of no reason why the note was made payable to me, and I do not now say who owns the note".

Notwithstanding, Sherman brought an action in district court at Ontonagon against Hogan as maker of the note and one James Carson who had now for some reason indorsed it, and in this suit Sherman obtained a judgment. It was from this judgment that Hogan appealed.

Life was not only tumultuous but involved.

The early files of the district court are literally cluttered with indictments for "assault with intent to kill and murder"

¹⁵*Michigan Reports* (Cooley) Vols. 1 & 2 at Page 62.

but invariably in these cases some property right was involved. Yet a painstaking search disclosed but one single case in which the indicted individual was found guilty as charged and was thereupon sentenced to prison. Even then, he was tried at Marquette and the new Marquette County and the new Ontonagon County were involved in a law suit over the costs of the trial. But more of that case in a moment. There are but two cases in the period of the copper rush, when the court files were cluttered with indictments for violent crimes, in which prison sentences were imposed. And one of these was not a crime of violence. It was a property crime. The offender in this case was John Cooke, a lawyer, who was a little too careless of his client's money. He cheated his client out of only about four hundred dollars for which offense he received a sentence of eight years at Jackson Prison.¹⁶ John Cooke should have chosen to perpetuate a lesser crime such as "assault with intent to kill and murder".

They had built a jail but it was generally quite empty. It was built as a place to lock up drunken Indians. They never locked up a drunken white man. That would have been an unheard-of tyranny. The jail was burned down by a "drunken Indian". Then they built a new one for there was always the necessity of a place to confine drunken Indians. The new jail was really a dungeon for the "prison room" was underground, with no windows, and served only by a trap door three feet square. The specifications called for "eight iron bolts built into the wall with heavy one inch iron rings attached for chaining prisoners". How frightened these Michigan forty-niners must have been of drunken Indians! But presently the Board of Supervisors invited "Drs. Cameron and Davenport to accompany the board to inspect the jail for the purpose of deciding on the healthiness or unhealthiness of said jail for the confinement of prisoners."¹⁷ Apparently "durance

¹⁶One is impressed by the reversal of public opinion of crimes involving life and crimes involving property. Nowadays John Cooke would have been made to reimburse his client and possibly he might have been disbarred.

¹⁷Proceedings of Board of Supervisors of Ontonagon County.

vile" meant just what it said in old habeas corpus proceedings.

In 1850 Eri H. Day, a Protestant missionary, visited the copper rush metropolis. He left a record.¹⁸ "Every house in the place at that time kept liquor for sale. Walking along the street I was touched on the shoulder. Turning to see who had touched me, I saw a man barefooted, with rough, unkempt hair and coarse clothes. I asked him what he wanted. Said he, 'Ain't you a minister?'. I said, 'I am'. Said he, 'Will you go with me to visit a sick man?' I said, 'Yes'. He led me to a vile whiskey den, into a back room, to the bedside of a young man. There was only a board partition between the room where the sick man lay and the drinking room, filled with drinkers. The noise they made was deafening. The sick man was in the last stages of typhoid fever. I tried to talk with him but the noise, oaths, and rattle of bottles drowned my voice. I tried to pray but I could not hear my own voice. I learned that the man died in a few hours. . . . Going from the man back to the boat, I stopped at a shanty and looked in. It was rather a cool day and a large, tall man, barefooted, was building a fire in an old stove. The shanty was full of drinkers and loungers. As the man stooped over to arrange the fire, a wag who was standing behind him stooped over and caught him with his thumb and finger by the heel cord, and at the same time barked and snarled like a dog. The man gave one yell and with a bound cleared the stove and turned to fight the dog. The shouts of laughter that greeted him soon convinced him that he was in no danger of hydrophobia, but it cost him more whiskey than would have cured a dozen cases of that malady".

Of picturesque violence there are many kinds and degrees. Fun may be violent and fun in the copper rush was always violent.

There were many odd characters among whom were two known as "Dandy Jim" and "Wide Awake, the Whistler". On

¹⁸*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 205 ff.

an occasion, one of these called the other a liar. A challenge to a duel was immediately arranged by friends. Each of the duelists was armed with a long pistol and separated by five paces. They were to put their backs together, take hold of the two ends of a short rope, walk away until the rope was taut, and then turn and fire. A crowd of gleeful men surrounded them and the preparations were long-drawn out and tumultuous. The pistols were loaded with unusually heavy charges of black powder only. Throughout the preparations "Wide Awake" was pretentiously brave and the men roared at his sallies. "I'll take him where Daniel O'Connell did—in the seal o' the watch", he boasted. "Dandy Jim" was thoroughly frightened and it was necessary to bolster his courage and there was a great deal of talk for that purpose. But finally they placed their backs together, the signal was given, they walked forward until the rope tightened, when "Wide Awake" turned first and fired full into "Dandy Jim's" face. Down went "Dandy Jim" as though mortally wounded. "Wide Awake" flung his smoking pistol down with gusto and cried, "Now bring me water till I wash the blood off me hands". "Dandy Jim" was revived, his face black with powder. He always insisted that he had been badly wounded and he and "Wide Awake" always believed that they had fought a deadly duel. This duel became a classic of the copper rush.

Two examples of picturesque copper rush violence are known as the Hocking murder case and the Ryan murder case. The first of these is presented as the single instance of a conviction for murder followed by a prison sentence. Both cases are presented because they are typical and the record is detailed.

There were no copper mines in the immediate vicinity of the mouth of the Ontonagon River. But the river itself served as the first route inland to the copper-bearing hills. Since the mouth of the river made an excellent harbor into which all the vessels on Lake Superior could enter, it instantly became the front door to the new copper country. Supplies for the mines were discharged at crude wharves on the harbor, and masses and barrels of native or free copper were loaded as

outbound cargoes. Masses of solid copper of several tons weight were not at all uncommon.

None of the active copper mines was immediately on the navigable portion of the river. At the head of navigable water landings were built on the river to serve numerous new mines scattered along the range of hills a few miles distant from the river.

One of the focal points about which several small mines were being actively developed was known as the "Norwich Gap". This point, measured by the combined water and land route then followed, was about twenty miles from "The Mouth".¹⁹ All along this route, both on the river and along the road from the landing to the mines, were public houses.

The coroner's document reads: "At an inquest on the body of Patrick Dolan, deceased, now laying dead near Front Run in a shanty upon or near the summit of a hill known as the Grocery Hill on the west side of the "grocery" owned and inhabited by one Henry Hocking", certain citizens, "were summoned a jury of inquest to inquire into the means of death of said Patrick Dolan then and there laying dead".

The quotation marks about the word "grocery" in the official document are original. They mean something and were not put there for decorative purposes as so often punctuation marks were so used by half-learned frontier scribes. What those quotation marks signify is that it wasn't a grocery at all but that it was a saloon or bar-room—a crude jerry-built structure that would have exactly suited the uses of a moving picture director who was filming a Klondike or "Western" story. So we have Henry Hocking owning and inhabiting a typical frontier saloon on top of a hill at a place called Front Run, and just to the west of this saloon is a shanty in which Patrick Dolan "lays dead".

With this setting, may we not now reasonably expect all the picturesque accoutrements which we have been taught to

¹⁹"The Mouth" is Ontonagon, the term commonly used in the rush. The single word "Ontonagon" was not used but the term "The Ontonagon" was commonly used to designate the drainage basin of the lower Ontonagon river. Copper rush place names are as uniquely descriptive as those of the gold rush.

associate with gold rush violence? Should there not now appear men in boots, slouch hats, red flannel shirts, armed with pistols, and perhaps a sheriff with a large star on his vest. Yes. We are not to be disappointed.

Patrick Dolan had built a shanty on land claimed by Henry Hocking, and he was setting up a rival bar. Only mildly irate at first, Hocking had merely bided his time until Dolan had gone to "The Mouth". In Dolan's absence, Hocking had taken an axe and knocked the shanty into a heap of rubbish. But Dolan proved to be rashly stubborn. On returning from "The Mouth" and finding his place of business demolished, he took hammer and saw and proceeded to re-erect it. It was at this juncture that the real fireworks took place.

It is about nine o'clock in the evening of January 26, 1854. It is easy to reconstruct a star-lit mid-winter night in deep forest upon rugged hills. Like a thread, a narrow road twists to find the easiest grades. At intervals along this road are cheap, rough cabins where men are drinking at crude bars, warmed by good wood fires, lit by candle light.

Let us look in upon the bar of Henry Hocking. William Robinson "deposeth that on the said evening he was present at the 'grocery' of Henry Hocking and heard said Hocking say that he would take the life of any man that should build on his property".²⁰

Just about that time Dolan returned from "The Mouth" and discovered his shanty in ruins. With a great deal of bravado, he assembled some of his friends, built a good sized fire near the ruined cabin to light their work, and they proceeded to re-erect the building there in the night.

Hocking saw the fire, heard the hammering. He pulled his boots on and sallied forth. He strode into the light of Dolan's fire and demanded to know what was going forward. "What are you doing?" he demands of one man who is tending the fire. "I am just putting some wood on this fire", the man replies. But now Dolan comes forward from the cabin into

²⁰All words within quotation marks are verbatim from district court files of the case.

the light of the fire where Hocking can see him. "I forbid you to build here on my land," Hocking tells him. And now Dolan make an utterly silly rejoinder. That is, it was utterly silly for its time and place. He tells Hocking, "If you think this land is yours, why don't you take the legal course"—Bang! Hocking shot him in his tracks. An eye-witness testifies: "I saw Hocking pull a pistol from beneath his red flannel over-shirt and fire on Dolan. Dolan said, 'Oh, my Lord, I'm a dead man' ". And he certainly spoke the truth. Hocking now stands with a smoking pistol in his hand and declaims irrelevantly, "I have but one life and I will sell it dearly".

The second of the two incidents of picturesque violence which have been selected of the many which illuminate the copper rush is known as the Ryan murder case.

It was April, 1857. The scene was Rockland, now as picturesquely quiet a village as to seem to belie every item of its early picturesque turbulence. Here at Rockland was the famous old Minesota Mine,²¹ one of the few dividend-paying mines of the whole Michigan copper exploitation. Much of its wealth was in masses, one weighing five hundred and twenty tons. Thousands of men were employed at this and other mines in and about Rockland, the large majority of whom were Irish and Cornish. And these elements were not suited to peaceful neighboring, were oil and water in the rough community life.

St. Patrick's Day on March 17 was somehow managed that year without bloodshed and Orange Day on July 12 was yet ahead. Beneath the surface trouble rumbled and it erupted suddenly on the 24th of April, a Sunday.

Dr. Thomas Flanner, M. D. is testifying: "I was summoned on the evening of the 24th of April somewhere near 7 o'clock to care for a man who was said to have received a blow from an axe. I desired the messenger to see him removed to the

²¹Always officially spelled with one "n". Paul, himself illiterate, once said, "It was the damn fool that done the writin' didn't know how to spell it".

hospital²² where I would immediately see him but he replied that he was bleeding to death."²³

Dr. Flanner proceeded down into the valley where the town sprawled, saw buildings aflame and as he neared he "found men assembled in crowds, others running to and fro armed with weapons, calling upon others to arm themselves and fly to some place, just where I could not tell, and have vengeance upon some other parties. These were, so far as I recollect, Cornishmen. I think there must have been many hundreds of men assembled and there was prevailing the wildest state of excitement amongst them. As I passed I saw men surrounding the grocery²⁴ of James Ryan. The windows were out and I could see men inside running back and forth brandishing weapons, while others were running around the building but seemed afraid or unwilling to enter." What had happened was that the Cornishmen had driven a party of Irishmen into Ryan's saloon which the latter were attempting to defend as Dr. Flanner passed by on his professional errand.

There is something a little awesome, if not gruesome, in what Dr. Flanner found. "On arriving near the front of the house known as Kinney's house my attention was attracted by the appearance of a large amount of blood upon the snow and from this point to the door of John Thomas' bar-room was the same appearance of blood having flown in a large stream upon the snow. I found the room crowded with men talking in an excited manner but in subdued tones. They made way for me to enter when I found in the corner the body of a man lying upon a bench, his head and shoulders supported by a man sitting at one end of the bench. The body lay with its back uppermost supported by the man as I have said. I hurriedly felt the wrist but there was no pulsation. I pulled up his shirts—."

"The man had been practically cut in two with one blow of an axe. All this time voices kept asking me if he was dead.

²²At the Minnesota Mine, some little distance from the town.

²³On file in the office of the Ontonagon County Clerk.

²⁴Here again grocery is a synonym for saloon.

When I said he was, there was a great excitement and confusion. Men were calling out to procure arms and exterminate the whole Irish race and other exclamations of like character. I advised them to calm themselves, to summon a magistrate and abide the law."

Dr. Flanner was talking about an abstraction in the copper rush.

"They rushed wildly from the place crying vengeance and making desperate threats. Where they went I do not know, nor could I identify a man in the room. (Wise Dr. Flanner.) As I was leaving, I was informed that several more were dead—".

"There was the same wild excitement amongst the crowds as when I passed down. Men were running from every direction and mobs were rushing about as if in pursuit of others. The principal scene of the excitement seemed to be about the grocery of James Ryan. As I reached the office of the Minnesota Mine, several of the mining officials were just arriving and it was determined to repair to the village" where some sort of magistrate was to be found to read the riot act.

It is easy to read between the lines of the testimony and behold the trepidation of the mine officials. They had a wild and sizeable carnage on their hands. And they were groping about to find something that had been mislaid "on the Ontonagon", namely, the law.

But what had happened? Let William Carpenter testify: "I saw James Ryan coming with an axe on his shoulder. I saw him walk up to Johnson Terrell and make a blow with the axe at Solomon Curtis which blow Curtis dodged".

And now let Solomon Curtis testify: "I was standing in front of Christy Adams' place with Johnson Terrell and I saw a man with a red shirt coming along there. This man made a blow at me with an axe and I dodged back and the axe struck Johnson Terrell. I took the axe from the man and caught the man and held him down on the ground. Several were on the man at the same time and then the man begged and I let him go. Someone picked Johnson Terrell up and

carried him inside and I went again in pursuit of the man that struck the blow but was unable to overtake him."

This very sketchy account by Solomon Curtis who seems to have been a man of a singular lack of imagination was afterwards supplemented by further testimony by him. Curtis makes a mark for his signature and even the mark he makes is vague. What he said when he was recalled as a witness was this: "I saw Richard Kissell in a fight with two Irishmen. Then I interferred and took the two Irishmen away and told Kissell not to strike them as there was only two of them. One of the Irishmen drew a long knife and I took him by the shoulder and told him to put up his knife. The Irishmen went away from there at once and I saw no more of them for the day. This happened five to ten minutes before the man came with the axe. I had just walked across the road and was talking with Johnson Terrell when I saw the man coming with the axe."

Here then was the inception of the whole affair. If Mr. Curtis was a poor witness, he was a good fighter. He admonishes his countryman, Richard Kissell, not to fight two Irishmen because there were only two of them. Then he proceeds to take a hand himself and here one suspects that his vague innocence is too deliberate. He admits that he took a hand and put an Irishman who was brandishing a long knife to flight. Then comes James Ryan to the rescue with an axe. Solomon Curtis dodges a murderous blow and poor Johnson Terrell, an innocent bystander, caught it full in the back.

The Cornishmen drove Ryan and his Irish compatriots into his own saloon and smashed the windows. They set fire to the building. Ryan leaped from the roof and disappeared completely forever. Dr. Flanner spent the night attending the wounded. "I went to see a man who lay wounded upon the steps of Frederick's saloon. I was called to attend Quinlan O'Neal, Michael and William Flanagan and John Haley and many others I do not now recollect."

Mrs. James Ryan submitted a bill to the Board of Supervisors for the loss of her husband's saloon and was reimbursed,

not, it is true, for the amount she claimed but for something just a little less, which is the manner of boards of supervisors in showing their responsibilities. What became of James Ryan no man can tell. There are many legends: that he was caught by the Cornishmen, killed as Johnson Terrell had been killed, and dismembered and hidden; that he had made good his escape and reached the outer world where his wife rejoined him after collecting damages from the county. None of these legends are credible. The best guess is that he escaped into the wilderness which took its own vengeance after its own manner. There were no arrests. Wasn't Solomon Curtis perfectly innocent of any violence by his own testimony? Could even Dr. Flanner identify one man who had made threats of violence? Property had been destroyed and the county paid for it and the ends of justice were met.

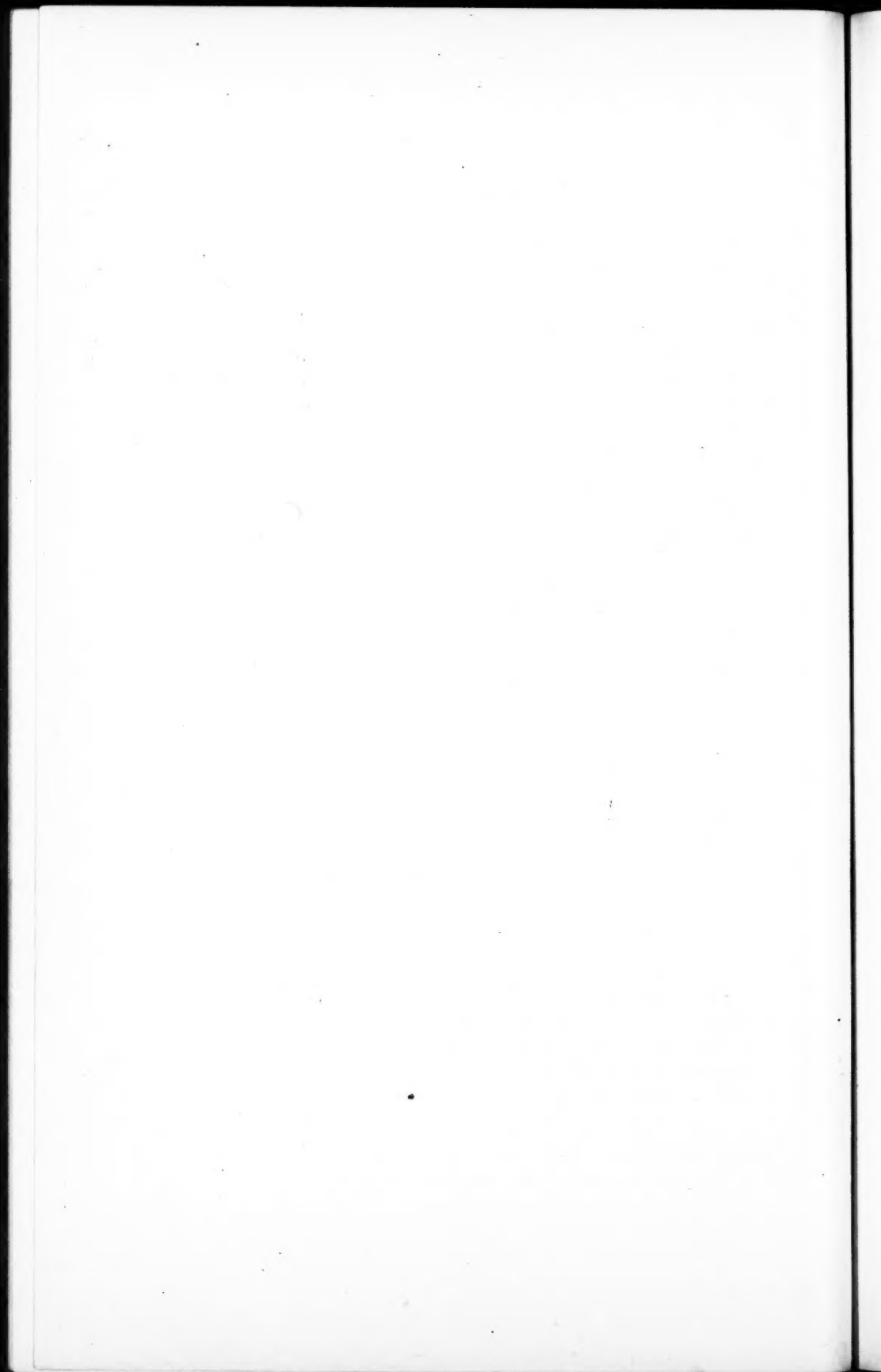
This riot marks the peak of the violence of the copper rush. It is like a grand finale. It is likely that a thousand men participated in it. But it was not a finale because such large scale violence sobered men to more seemly deportment. It was a finale because the copper rush was over. What had been almost wholly a man's world was giving way. Jim Paul began to metamorphose under the kindly eye and gentle hand of Amanda Chandler whom he had married. The tempo slacked, the tone was pitched lower. The melodrama, with its crowded stage and its dialogue loud and confusing, was over. For every hundred men who came into the Ontonagon country in the rush, probably not more than one remained to live and die. The tide ebbed as rapidly as it had risen.

Even before that riot the phase was changing. There is no documentary evidence to support it but one is just aware that there were now young wives and mothers in tidy, humble homes awaiting sober, industrious husbands and fathers who were in no sense forty-niners. These were the people destined to inhabit the country with their progeny, earning their "stake" by faithful hard labor.

Yet there was glamour in the rush. It is worth resurrecting. It is even worth embroidering into "romantic history".

It may lack something of the grand proportions of the gold rush with its epic sweep of a nation's restless moving across plains, and deserts and mountains to reach Eldorado. Yet the stormy passage of Lake Superior has epic possibilities and perhaps its Bret Harte is only belated.

That Ontonagon copper boulder, seemingly inscrutable on its mahogany table in the National Museum, may be a talisman. It may inspire its own story: of a forgotten race of men busying themselves like ants to carry it home in vain; of savages who worshipped it as a shrine and of Jesuits who chided them for it; of kings who sought it and failed; of French and English empires impotent on the far-flung colonial frontier where it lay; of its final surrender to an illiterate American adventurer to create a turbulence out of which a new and rich resource was added to the wealth of the nation; of its instrumentality in knitting common interests by transmission of instant common intelligence to help build a mighty democracy.



FIRST RAILROAD TO ENTER MICHIGAN'S CAPITAL CITY

By E. A. CALKINS,

Statistician, Michigan Public Utilities Commission

THE first railroad actually to pass through Lansing was an outcome of the United States Land Grants provided for under the Act of June 3, 1856, which made railroads extending from "Amboy, by Hillsdale and Lansing and from Grand Rapids to some points on or near Traverse Bay" recipients of the favors of such a grant.

In 1855 a general railroad law for Michigan had been enacted and approved and on January 29, 1857, one hundred and forty-two associated stockholders filed articles of association forming the Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay Railroad Company, which may for brevity be called the Amboy Project. Act 126 of the Michigan laws of 1857 made a specific land grant to this corporation and other grants to other companies and provided a board for administering the grants. On March 21, 1857, the company filed acceptance of the grant and the preliminary scenery was thus arranged for a railroad.

Of course capital was needed, hence the long list of stockholders extending from Jonesville to Owosso. The capital authorized was \$5,000,000 divided into shares of \$100 each. Of this \$300,000 was subscribed by the 142 signers and \$17,500 was paid in.

The principal subscribers and the shares engaged by each were:

Marvin Hannahs, Albion.....	250 shares
Murphy and Baxter, Jonesville.....	200 "
G. C. Monroe, Jonesville.....	200 "
C. C. Chatfield, Eaton Rapids.....	100 "
Joseph Gale, Ingham.....	100 "

Lansing was represented by Dan. L. Case, James Turner, John E. Longyear, H. B. Shank, and William H. Chapman, each of whom took ten shares.

The route proposed was definite as per the land grant from Amboy, via Hillsdale and Lansing. Beyond the latter point

it was indefinite embracing a possible route through the counties of Clinton, Gratiot, Shiawassee, and Saginaw, and opposite Traverse Bay, through all the counties extending from Alpena to Antrim; the same was true from Iosco to Missaukee in that range. The country north of Bay City at that time, except on the shores of the Great Lakes, was mostly an untamed and little known wilderness of lakes, streams, pine forests, and Jack-pine plains with large areas of hardwood in some sections. Such an indefinite route made it possible to enlist greater local interest and it appears that Shiawassee and Saginaw, by more energetic action in legislative matters, secured, finally, the location of the road. The irregular route thus proposed early led a newspaper wit of Lansing to dub the new project the "Ramshorn Railroad", a name which clung to it throughout its troubled existence.

The directors named in the articles were thirteen in number and included Marvin Hannahs, William W. Murphy, James Turner, H. B. Shanks, Joseph Gale, Dan W. Gould of Eaton Rapids who had sixty shares and Alfred L. Williams of Owosso who had fifty shares.

Of the financing of this company but little further can be given. It is obvious it was not an easy task as a depression had just at that time made venturesome spirits cautious and big capital was remote and equally cautious. However, \$224,000 of first mortgage bonds and \$200,000 second lien bonds were issued in 1860 but the amounts available from these bonds are unknown. Michigan men had little capital but plenty of spirit, had faith in the State, and the land grant was of course alluring. Donations of work, clearing, and grading, were made at different points on the line from Owosso to Jonesville.

On July 1, 1856, the Detroit and Milwaukee Railway opened service to Owosso from Detroit. Eighteen years had elapsed since this company, first named the Detroit and Pontiac Railroad Company, had established service to Royal Oak from Detroit, and twelve years since the entry into Pontiac. Its construction was by slow stages, but European capital put in during 1855 took it to Grand Haven from Pontiac by Novem-

ber 22, 1858. The Amboy for some reason made its greatest progress from the Owosso connection with the Detroit and Milwaukee and by slow and apparently toilsome stages made its progress toward Lansing.

Pertinent and intimate personal facts and experiences concerning this part of the route seem not now to be accessible. They must have been replete with incidents of personal achievements in this pioneering enterprise. However a brief statement of the progress of the work in an affidavit filed by David Gould, managing agent, may be found in the United States Circuit Court records for the Eastern District of Michigan; for the road was in bankruptcy by 1864, with C. C. Trowbridge receiver, and so continued for about two years. Mr. Gould's affidavit states:

"That the railroad of said Company was commenced to be constructed at the City of Owosso and the track was laid and the road so far completed as to allow the running of cars to Laingsburg, a distance of twelve (12) miles, about November 1860, was completed to Bath Station, a distance of twenty (20) miles from Owosso about the 25th day of December 1860; completed to about two miles north of Lansing January 1862 and completed to Lansing November 1862. Extended to Michigan Avenue in the City of Lansing August 25th, 1863. Total distance about twenty-eight (28) miles from the City of Owosso. That cars have been running over the same as the condition of the road would allow from the time the track was laid to Laingsburg. That the above is all of the road of said Company that has so far been completed. That no other track has been laid, and that north of Owosso no work whatever except a little nominal labor cutting bushes had been done toward construction. That south of Lansing no work besides grading had been done and that from Lansing south to Eaton Rapids, a distance of about eighteen miles, no grading had been done. That it would require an outlay of \$25,000 to put the completed portion of the road in condition for ballasting. That rolling stock used was property of Amos Gould and B. O.

Williams and since September 1864 was property of the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad."

The Amboy construction was with rail weighing 35 pounds to the yard and the motive equipment was of corresponding weight and capacity having a limit of 12 loaded freight cars. The maximum speed was twelve miles per hour for passenger trains.

Some reports filed in the office of the Auditor General indicate that traffic was not too abundant. It shows:

	1860	1861	1862
Revenues from passengers,			
freight, and express	\$155.63	\$7777.99	\$11203.83
Tons of Merchandise		4177	2676
No. of ties carried			3775
Miles run by Passenger			
and Freight Cars	2500	18000	20600

The Civil War was demanding the energies and resources of the country after the spring of 1861 and we may fairly infer that its drain of man-power and financial resources worked to greatly retard this railroad project and eventually to render it bankrupt. William P. Innes appears as its Engineer and Superintendent at the close of 1860. On September 12, 1861 he became colonel of the 1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics and in the autumn of 1864 left the military service with a brevet "for gallant and efficient service during the war."

From Bath to Lansing the company encountered serious physical difficulties, chief of which was a sink hole northeast of the Gunnisonville road* out of Lansing, stated by the *State Republican* of October 29, 1862, to be 640 feet long. Apparently much effort with patience was required on this section and by November 19, 1862, the road had been opened to Franklin Avenue in Lansing. As service had reached a point four miles from Lansing by January 8, 1862, it would appear that the "sink hole" presented a serious problem to the build-

*Early statements designate this as the Ballard Road. There is an overway at this crossing.

ers. On April 2, 1862, we find the *State Republican* admonishing the citizens of Lansing to take up the work of grading and other efforts, and on August 6, 1862, it is found that the contractors have surrendered the work to the enterprise of the city. On August 27 it was said the "sink hole" had been overcome, but it appears only to have again collapsed. It was finally conquered, it seems, by Messrs. Brown and Bunn, by a bridge which the *Republican* remarks "will sustain any train that will ever be run over it," but even with that assurance doubts are expressed as to whether the foundation is secure.

The opening of the road to Lansing in November, 1862, seems to have greatly benefited its traffic. We find the *Owosso Press* of January 10, 1863, commenting that "the rush over the Ramshorn to Lansing this week has been like the rush to a newly-discovered gold-mine." Perhaps the opening of the legislative session about that time may have attracted traffic.

On September 3, 1861, the Board of Control of Rail Road Land Grants took action confirming to the Amboy 120 sections of lands for its first 20 miles of completed road, and conditionally confirmed a further 120 sections to be made available as soon as the road was completed to Michigan Avenue in Lansing. Incidentally, it is noted that this action, through loose business practices concerning these lands, led to some fruitful lawsuits and many pages of shifty action by the Board of Control in 1866. The lands selected by the Company were scattered from town 6 South to town 21 North within the zone along the line required in the Act.

Among the active promoters in the Amboy project we find at Owosso Alfred L. Williams, its first president and an influential personality in securing the land grant and making Owosso a point on the route. His brother, Benjamin O. Williams, and Amos Gould appear likewise as zealous supporters. In Lansing it seems that Alvin N. Hart came to take a leading interest, but there was no lack of zeal from those originally subscribing to the enterprise, as well as by the community in general. At Eaton Rapids a long list of supporters

appear but their efforts, after a rigorous initial support, were fated to fall short of achievement of the end. Joseph Gale of Ingham County was one of the first residents of the Montgomery plains district in Onondaga and was, it is believed, a connection of the Montgomery family. His interests, however, were in common with those of Eaton Rapids.

October 6, 1866, the Amboy conveyed its property franchises and land grant from Lansing northerly to the Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw Railroad Company and thereafter the railroad and project became a part of the purchasers' enterprise and continued a road of intimate interest to Lansing. The Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw took the property at a cost of \$70,000 in capital stock and \$323,000 in bonds and expended \$35,012 in completing the road.

January 12, 1867, the Amboy conveyed its franchises, property and land grant lying south of Michigan Avenue, Lansing, to the Northern Central Michigan Railroad Company, for brevity called the Northern Central, which completed this road from Jonesville to Lansing in 1872, opening service to Lansing on January 13, 1873.

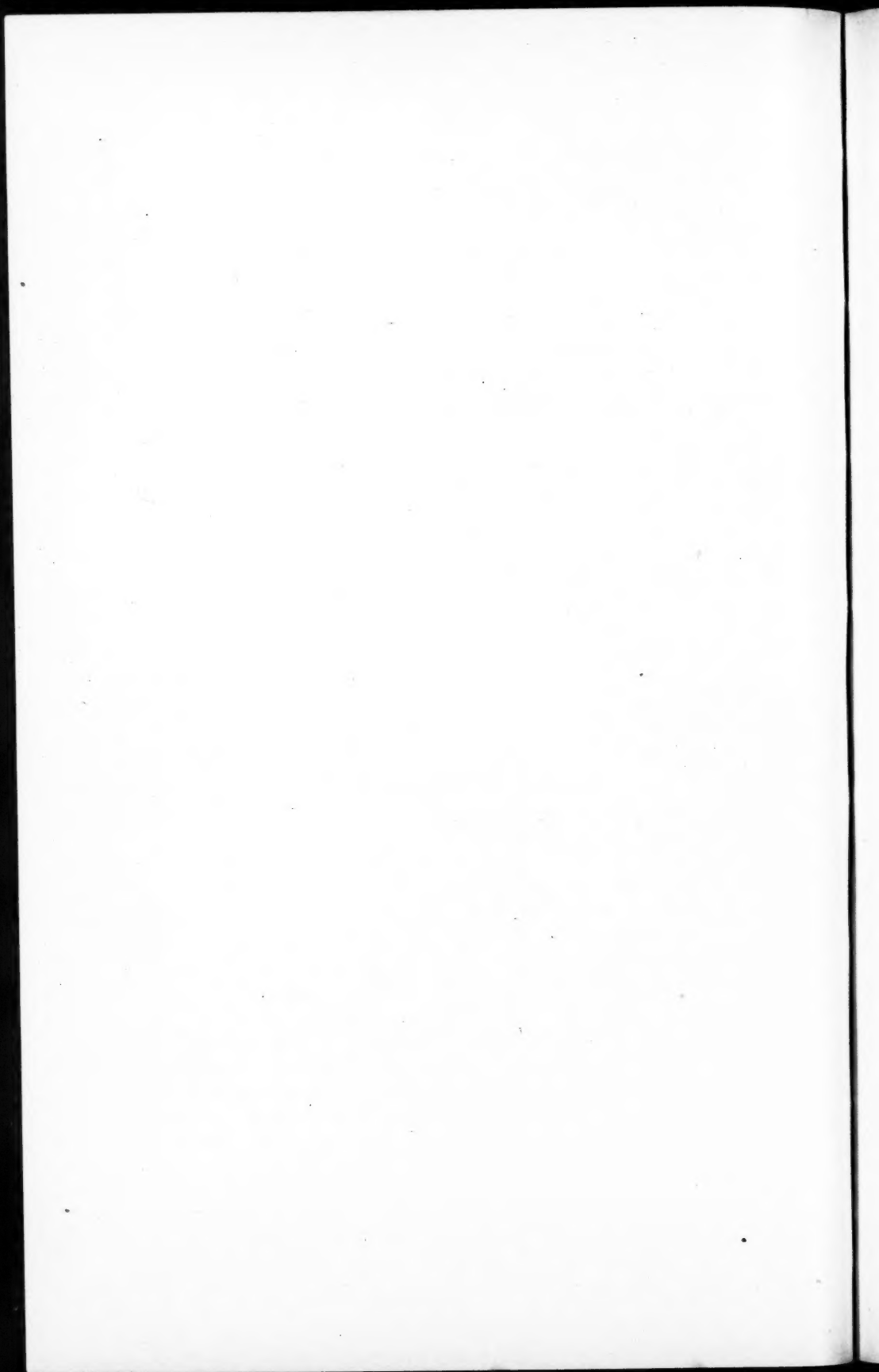
The Northern Central was organized November 10, 1866, with a capital of \$1,500,000 in shares of \$100 each, of which \$80,000 was subscribed and \$4,000 was paid in. The stockholders subscribing were twenty-nine in number, representing Albion, Homer, Springport and Eaton Rapids. Samuel Irwin of Albion, its first President, subscribed 387 shares and Isaac M. Crane of Eaton Rapids took a like number of shares. All others took one share each. Its first Directors were Samuel Irwin and O. Chas. Gale of Albion, Geo. H. French of Homer, Samuel Riblet of Litchfield, Stephen B. Crawford of Springport and James Gallery and William M. Tompkins of Eaton Rapids.

It would appear that local interests still sought consummation of the Amboy project. However, with the succession of the Northern Central to the project the efforts of the several local centers on the route originally stipulated seems to have been in part exerted to enlist outside support with the inducement of local aids. Hitherto the moving incentive and means

had been purely local in character working with greater or lesser mass energy and resources to obtain railroad connection with existing trunk lines long established and their usefulness proven.

The Northern Central was apparently from organization, or at least came to be shortly thereafter, a creature of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company and its road connected with the latter's old main line at Jonesville. It was financed and largely constructed by the parent Company, using of course the work performed through several years by local effort and the assistance at the time given by the several local communities. Iron rails weighing 56 pounds to the yard were laid in the first instance. Its final completion was the result of an experienced railroad management finding that the project offered opportunity for a feasible and useful railroad as well as finding the necessary capital seeking investment to fund the cost.

Such is a brief recital of facts, incidents and experiences relating to the initial railroad enterprise of Michigan's Capital. The completed project is now an active part of the New York Central Railroad properties. May it continue active and useful to Central Michigan for unnumbered years to come, is Michigan's wish in this Centennial year.



AN EDITOR'S TROUBLES 80 YEARS AGO

BY DAVID D. HENRY

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

OLD NEWS, says Hawthorne, contains "a good deal of amusement, and some profit." We are daily reminded of this truth by the now common and popular newspaper feature, "News of Fifty Years Ago." This column contains many a chuckle. In some instances we see exact reproductions of ourselves dressed up in a few old fashioned customs. Again we observe persons whom we have never known. Most of these pictures are entertaining but sometimes the old news is a bit disillusioning as it brings an awareness of the timelessness of our age-worn cares.

Turn, for example, to a musty looking old magazine secluded in a forgotten corner of a "second hand" book shop. *The Monthly Literary Miscellany* was published in Detroit by Beecher and Quinby in the late forties and early fifties of the last century. It was one of the earliest journals in the Middle West to have a measure of success over a period of years. Quite decidedly committed to a policy of rather stuffy didacticism, it hoped to have "a healthful moral influence on its every page." Quite truly the editors remarked in a preface to bound volume number 6, (1852): "The contributions for the Miscellany have not been of a flashy character, but we have aimed to present those which were of intrinsic worth." It is interesting to note that in a place as far removed from Boston in 1852 as Detroit, the Puritan belief was held that intrinsic worth and entertainment are antonymous! The editors said: "We could find writers who could read us a half hour lecture about nothing, if we chose to do so. But we opine that our readers, no more than ourselves, would be pleased with an article, whose chief merit should be a choice display of phrases, or a nice and beautiful jingling of words. We have labored to present the substance with the form."

But we must not be too critical of the editors of the *Miscellany*. Their antipathy to the "polite" literature of the times was probably a protest against the sentimental and sensational fiction of the fifties. Margaret Fuller in 1846 said that the stories of the times were "'written for the seamstresses.' Take them generally, they are calculated to do a positive injury to the public mind, acting as an opiate, and of an adulterated kind, too." That many readers felt that way is attested by the subscription list of the *Miscellany*. Founded in 1849, in two years it claimed 6,000 subscribers, and 4,000 more a year later. These figures, in the Middle West in 1850, were not insignificant.

The editorial comment on fiction is interesting. After praising the International Magazine as "the head of the family of 'Monthlies,'" the editors "regret that the enterprising publishers of this work, as well as those of the Harper's Magazine which stands next to it, have found it necessary to publish novels. It is true they are the best of their kind; but we think that truth may be as attractive, and more instructive than fiction, . . ." (July, 1851). In the May 1852 number, an article on "Light Literature of America," contains this: "One would almost be led to think that vice and virtue were leagued together and went hand in hand in their onward march, for there are issued from the same press the Bible and the Novel, scripture dissertations, mental, moral and philosophical publications of a high order, and the baneful fiction and licentious tale of passion. Each have their influence (*sic.*)—the one to elevate and better the mind, and unfold in noble action its better powers, and the other to depress and deaden its God-like sensibilities."

Created for a definite public, the publishers of the *Miscellany* felt a kind of personal responsibility for the satisfaction of its readers. After printing a series of sketches of bloody historical events, the editor apologized: "We give not these articles because we delight in carnage or the contemplation of scenes of blood, but because of their intrinsic worth. We would far rather present to our readers subjects in which man

will appear to better advantage; but knowing as we do, that the great principles of religion and virtue are destined to elevate man from that barbarism, where he is capable of such deeds of infamy, we believe that our readers will pardon us if we present views of man uninfluenced, or uncontrolled by that religion whose author is the Prince of Peace." (October, 1851). On another occasion, the editor refrained from placing the words "To be continued," over a divided December article "lest our subscribers should say we did so to draw them on another year." Even would-be contributors had to be cajoled. To the author of a rejected essay, this comment was directed: "Stir up, dear friend, *'the gift that is in thee,'* and let not your *first* be your *last* article." Or this: "'In the Dewy Hours of Slumber' came too late for insertion this month. It will appear next month. Keep that pen moving."

Occasionally an editorial temper would be lost over the letters of abuse which even then found their way to the publishers' office. Ordinarily the reaction was reserved. Such letters came "from a lower order—those incapable of appreciating anything that is good." To a delinquent subscriber, however, stronger words were appropriate: "One, who has been owing for nearly two years, has on being requested to pay, full of benevolence, invited us very politely to 'go to Halifax.' Now though it might afford us very great satisfaction to attend to the wishes of so worthy a patron, we find it absolutely impossible to comply . . . for we have several thousand subscribers still left, who expect the *Miscellany* and expect to pay for it. To these we are really attached, and for them we feel bound still to labor."

Most of the editorial worries were obviously financial. There was little or no advertising and a large circulation was essential for existence. There were repeated requests to the subscribers for help to secure new patrons. Much was made of the local-pride appeal. The *Miscellany* was designed to give a literary voice to the Middle West and the native could not without shame allow it to be said that the West could not

appreciate her own talents. Then, the *Miscellany* had a distinct moral purpose, "to furnish in a cheap form a literature calculated to develop the mind, and advance it in knowledge and virtue," to encourage a pure literature, to help form "Western character," "to elevate, morally and intellectually, those who give us their patronage." The advertising theme was: Increase our subscription list and we shall increase the value of our work in proportion.

There were even more pleas for payments than there were for subscriptions. The editor not only pleaded, but begged, exhorted, threatened. Scarcely an issue passed without comment on the subject. "If you are not interested in it, why take it? If you are, why not pay for your entertainment? Is not the *Miscellany* calculated to do good? Then why not sustain it for the sake of others, if not for yourself?"

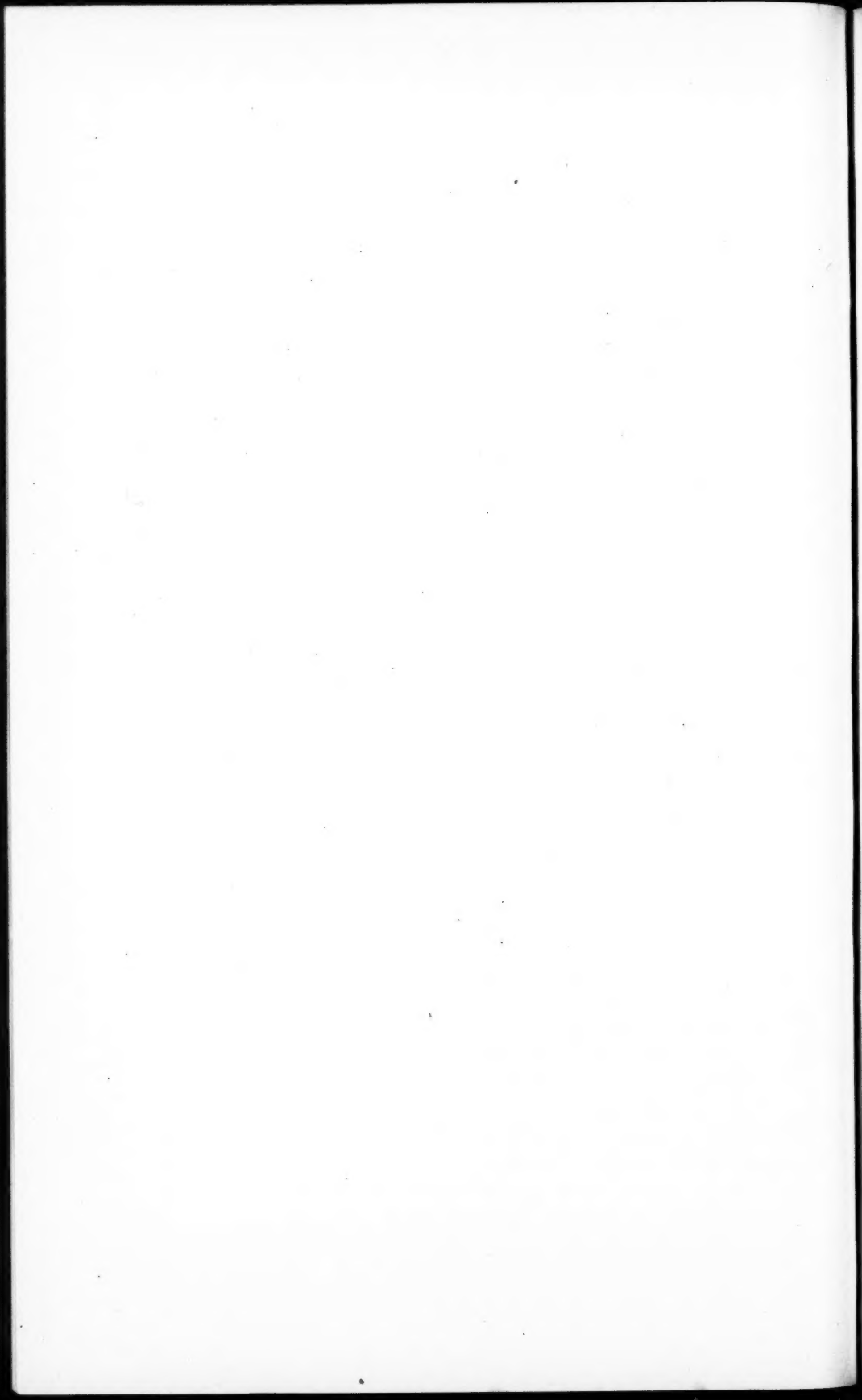
Apparently, unreliable agents were responsible for some delinquencies. The editor especially desired solicitors who were postmasters, ministers, or students. These were the honest representatives of the community! Somewhat naively, the request was made: "We want agents that will pay us when they get the subscriber's money without delay." The agent was entitled to twenty-five percent of the subscription money and was allowed to retain his share and forward the balance. Such a policy naturally attracted fake agents and gave rise to this kind of inquiry: "Will Mr. Clark, who was some weeks since in Lee Center, Illinois, obtaining subscribers, inform us how long he has been an agent of the *Monthly Literary Miscellany*, and who authorized him to act for us? We have some inquiries to make concerning a few other *kind friends* . . ." The public notice no doubt terribly frightened the imposter.

The postmasters seem to have been "the kind friends" of the business department. They apparently not only acted as agents but as informants. They were to notify the publishers in cases where there was no hope of their getting what was due, "to remit money for subscribers to periodicals free of charge," to return "refused" copies, to make certain all postage was prepaid. Also, they were to write letters, when necessary,

for the subscribers although it was admitted, "Postmasters generally prefer to have you write your own letters, as it saves them time!"

What advertising the *Miscellany* carried was in the form of personal comment by the editor. Here is a sample: "Having tested the efficacy of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, we have no hesitancy in saying, we believe it to be one of the safest, and certainly one of the best remedies we have ever seen. Were we not assured by actual experiment that it is in fact all that it professes to be, we would not assist in spreading a knowledge of it. But esteeming it as we do, we recommend it to our friends who may be afflicted with colds, coughs, or bronchial difficulties."

Here is certainly a neighborly boost: "Our Friend F. W. Burgess, Gold, Silver and Brass Plater, can be relied upon for the finest specimens of the various kinds of work in his line of business. There is no necessity of sending your cash to the east for close plating, it can be done as well at your door, and transportation saved. *Etc. . .*"



DETERMINING FACTORS IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ALMA

BY ARTHUR WEIMER
ALMA COLLEGE

THE purpose of this essay¹ is to point out the economic forces which aided and those which hindered the development of Alma, Michigan. In two earlier articles in the *Michigan History Magazine*, the writer summarized the economic history of this town.² No historical material will be added here. Rather an attempt will be made to interpret and to analyze the facts which have already been presented, with a view to showing which economic factors were of greatest significance in determining advance or decline.

The economic forces which shaped the growth of this town are not essentially different from those which determined development in other small cities and, to some extent, in larger urban centers as well. The differences are of degree rather than kind.

An understanding of the role which various economic factors played in the historical drama of the "country town" contributes much to an intelligent interpretation of general American economic history. The "country town" is, in many respects, a peculiarly American institution.³ It is the product of the same economic forces which created the entire modern American economic order. Hence, the study of these forces with respect to their effect on a particular type of economic institution should contribute to an understanding of their general significance as well.

In general a town or city needs "town builders" first, that is, people who command incomes from outside the town. These in turn support "town fillers", those who cater to the needs of the "builders" and who command no incomes from outside.⁴

¹See article in *The Journal of Political Economy*, April, 1935, by the writer, for a more general discussion of this subject.

²See Winter and Spring Numbers, 1935.

³Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (Huebsch, New York, 1918), p. 315.

⁴These terms are used by F. T. Nussbaum in his volume *A History of Economic Institutions of Modern Europe*. (New York: Crofts, 1933), p. 36.

The population of any town or city can be divided into these two groups.

Probably the most fundamental influence in determining the economic development of Alma was natural resources, notably agricultural land.⁵ It is true that forest resources first attracted settlers to the Saginaw Valley, but even during the earliest years, agriculture was of prime importance for Alma and as time went on, lumbering became insignificant.

The first "town builders" in Alma were the merchants. Their incomes depended on trade with the surrounding farm community, and to some extent on trade with the lumber camps. As the farm community grew and became prosperous, the incomes of the merchants expanded. On the other hand, the income from trade with lumber camps declined after the first two decades of Alma's history.

But the force of natural resources was not merely a local one. As agricultural areas to the West were brought under cultivation and connected by rail with markets, they brought about numerous changes in the agriculture of the Alma area. Such transitions had their effects on the prosperity of local agriculture.

The natural resources in the vicinity of Alma were also fundamental in determining the development of a number of manufacturing activities. Several saw-mills, a planing mill, a shingle factory and a furniture factory all developed because lumber supplies were available locally. Similarly the growth of the sugar factory, the produce plant, the canning factory and various milling enterprises can be explained by the availability of raw materials produced on the farms in the surrounding territory.

However, natural resources alone are of no value—they require labor and capital before production can be carried on. In general, there has been nothing distinctive about the labor supply of Alma. It was probably no less

⁵In contrast to this, mineral or forest resources are of prime importance to many towns and cities; see, for example, S. J. Coon, *The Economic History of Missoula, Montana*, (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Chicago Library, 1931).

abundant than in most other parts of the country during earlier years. And as transportation facilities developed, the labor supply could be augmented rapidly as the need arose—witness the rapid influx of people between 1915 and 1918, when the Republic Truck Company needed labor. To some extent, however, the absence of a large diversified labor supply may have deterred some business men from locating their plants in Alma.

The influence of capital is much more definite in this respect. There were several deterrents to the flow of capital to Alma—the banking facilities were always limited and local enterprises were seldom large enough to secure funds from the larger capital markets. In fact, the only Alma enterprise ever to finance itself by means of large capital markets was the Republic Truck Company. And in more recent years the city government sold some bonds in Detroit. The absence of a large capital supply and the inability to secure funds to any large extent from elsewhere, is an important factor in explaining the lack of rapid growth during the sixties and seventies.

It was this situation which made Mr. A. W. Wright the greatest of all Alma "town builders." When he settled there in the early eighties and made his capital available to a number of local enterprises, the rate of economic development rapidly increased. His capital was chiefly responsible for the beginning and growth of the Alma Roller Mills, the sugar factory, the college, the produce company, the sanitarium and a mercantile company. He was also a heavy stockholder in one of the local banks.

Further than that, his capital was of prime importance in determining the character of the railroad system in Alma area, the final arrangement giving Alma a considerable advantage over the rival towns of St. Louis and Ithaca.

The importance of the railroads for the early history of this town can scarcely be over-emphasized. They made production for the market possible and cleared the way for greater specialization of economic activity. But they also put Alma mer-

chants into more definite competition with those in larger centers. This was much more true of the highways, however, and further, improved roads wiped out some of the advantages which Alma secured from the character of the railroad system.

"Town builders" need not be business men only. Many institutions of a non-profit seeking character are very important from this standpoint. Thus, Alma College and the Alma Sanitarium (now Michigan Masonic Home) have been important factors in adding to economic advance. In a more modest way, the Gleaner's Home and the Maccabee's Home have been of some importance in this respect.

Certain governmental policies have been of significance in explaining the economic advance of Alma. The Graduation Act speeded the growth of population in the area and the Erie Canal played a similar part. The financial assistance which state and national as well as local governments gave the railroads was not without significance. Highway development was almost entirely the product of governmental activities. And banking regulation was of some importance. But the governmental policies having a special local significance were the tariff, which gave a subsidy to sugar beet growers, and the World War, since it created a vast demand for motor trucks. This provided a tremendous market for the Republic Truck Company and explained its rapid advance. The cessation of this war-time demand also explains in large measure the failure of that organization.

The above factors appear to be of chief significance in explaining the economic advance of this town. Various others are of more importance as deterrents to growth.

The quality of managerial ability has apparently never been of the highest and this spelled failure for many local enterprises. This was less true during earlier years when local demands on entrepreneurial ability were not great.

Inter-town rivalry cannot pass without mention. The fact that Alma, St. Louis and Ithaca served virtually the same

trade area was a hindrance to all three of them. The choosing of Ithaca rather than Alma as the county seat tended to hinder advance in Alma to some extent. The intense competition between these towns was also brought out by the struggle to secure the best railroad facilities. And this rivalry, plus misdirected civic pride, resulted in the promotion of many ventures which failed rapidly and hence dissipated capital. The Northern Wheel Corporation and the Western Carburetor Company are examples of this. Both concerns were financed by local capital in the hope that Alma might become an industrial city. The local "Board of Trade" sponsored most projects of this type, but it was unsuccessful in nearly all of its attempts to locate organizations in Alma which would develop. Misdirected economic activity and loss of capital were the usual results.

Climatic conditions have not been as favorable in the Alma area as in other parts of the Middle West. The growing season is relatively short. Furthermore, much of the farm land requires drainage, and this adds to farming costs. Also, much of the soil is not as rich as in other parts of the state or in surrounding states.

Further than this, Alma is some distance from large central markets and this has been a hindrance to advance, even though the growth of transportation facilities has eliminated some of the disadvantages. The town has remained outside the main currents of trade.

The above factors appear to be the most important local explanations of economic development in Alma. In addition to these, however, a number of more general economic forces have also helped to shape the growth of the town.

The rapid increase of population in the United States plus the concentration of a large portion of the people in urban centers added to the demand for farm products. The development of new lumbering centers in the South and West as the Michigan timber supply diminished, spelled *finis* for a number of local manufacturing concerns. The increased specialization

of economic activity had its local effects—chiefly on agriculture. Advances in technology left their marks on local development, even though the changes were not as striking as in larger centers. Then, too, the general variations in business activity—booms and depressions—had local effects. These were often not as marked as in more highly developed places, but they were of some significance in explaining local development.

From this brief discussion, it seems apparent that the factors which had the greatest influence in determining economic advance in Alma were: natural resources—notably farm land, Mr. Wright and his capital, transportation facilities, non-profit seeking institutions and various governmental policies. The most important deterrents to growth were: lack of managerial ability, inter-town rivalry, misguided local investments, climate, and the fact that Alma remained outside the main current of trade.

It is impossible to estimate the exact effect of each of these factors. The interactions are too numerous. But a study of the historical development of the town points to the general conclusions reached above. And a careful consideration of these historical forces should make possible an estimate of the probable future of the town.

LUCIUS LEE HUBBARD

BY ALFRED C. LANE

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LUCIUS LEE HUBBARD, only child of Lucius Virgilius and Annie Elizabeth (Lee) Hubbard,¹ was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 7, 1849, died August 3, 1933.

He was a posthumous child since his father died of cholera in New Orleans (April 17) the year he was born. His father, Harvard 1824, of an old New England family was studious and scholarly, and master of several languages. Young Hubbard attended Woodward High School in Cincinnati three years, then two years at Phillips Exeter Academy, and graduated from Harvard in 1872, a classmate of Judge Charles Almy, who was his best man, and still survives. In Harvard he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, D.K.E., Hasty Pudding, and Institute of 1770.

He spent the next two years in travelling abroad and in the University of Bonn, studying the German language, history and international law. He had thought of going into the diplomatic service of the United States, but realized that at that time there was not a chance for "career" men.

So in March 1874 he entered the law office of C. T. Russell, in the fall the B. U. Law School, became LL.B the following spring and was admitted to the bar.

September 29 he married Frances J. Lambard at Augusta, Maine, daughter of Charles Allen Lambard and Frances Emily Johnson of Belfast. From that time he continued to live in Cambridge (21 and 19 Craigie Street) with business in Boston. But legal business interests were more and more overshadowed by other interests. He was always a collector,—of stamps, of Americana, of Robinson Crusoes, of minerals; and his love of outdoors exercised in the woods of Maine led to his first book *Summer Vacations at Moosehead Lake and*

¹George Hubbard—Mary Bishop, John Hubbard—Mary Merriam, Isaac Hubbard—Anne Warner, Isaac Hubbard—Christine Gunn, Israel Hubbard—Abigail Smith, Lucius Hubbard—Anne Pomeroy, Lucius Virgilius Hubbard—Annie Elizabeth Lee. Genealogy is from "*One Thousand Years of Hubbards*".

Vicinity 1877, later expanded into Hubbard's *Guide to Moosehead Lake and Northern Maine* (A. Williams and Co.). The map accompanying was sold separately by Damrell and Upham as *Hubbard's Lumberman's and Tourist's Map of Northern Maine*, First Edition 1894. It is still in demand. When Lane visited him in 1929 he was just celebrating the fiftieth anniversary by revising the thirteenth edition. These were forerunners of a later work, *Woods and Lakes of Maine* 1883, J. R. Osgood and Company.

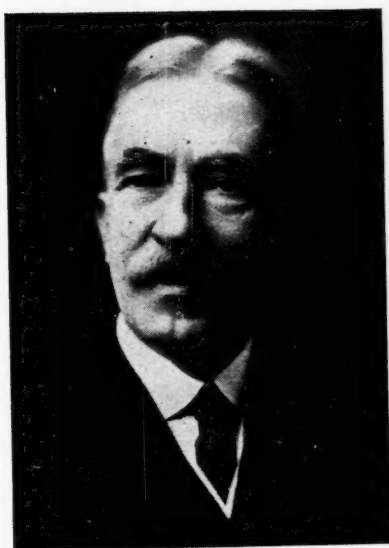
He was also (1881) president of the Massachusetts Rifle Association and a member of successful rifle teams, a fact which Lane only learned by accident after he knew him many years, when he remarked on the likeness of a man to Gardner W. Bullard, father of the famous composer. To this Hubbard replied, "Did you know him?", and it came out that they had been rifle team mates.

He was a warden of Christ Church, Cambridge, as he was later of the Episcopal Church in Houghton.

His care over the accuracy of the map dovetailed with his interest in Indian place names² and Americana, of which he formed a remarkable collection, including great rarities like the Eliot Indian Bible.

His interest in the rocks, especially the porphyries of Mt. Katahdin, led him back to Europe in 1883 to study again in Bonn under Von Lasaulx mineralogy, geology and chemistry, where he took the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. in 1886 with a thesis "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Nesean—führenden Auswürflinge des Laacher Sees" in Tschermak's *Mineralogisch-petrographischen Mittheilungen*, Volume 8, Part 5. This is a careful study of a number of minerals, including azorpyrrhite, which occurs in the volcanic tuffs of the Eifel. As customary in German theses a life is appended, and the list of twenty-three German professors and docents whose lectures he had attended is unusually long.

²Of his work in that field S. P. Cabot spoke highly.



LUCIUS LEE HUBBARD



In November, 1886, he went to Heidelberg where H. B. Patton and A. C. Lane were studying, and worked several months under Rosenbusch, among other things devising a method of testing the specific gravity of minute grains by gauging their fall on an upcurrent of water.

In March, 1887, he rejoined his family in Switzerland and collected Alpine minerals. He was a member of the "Deutsche Oesterrichische Alpenverein (Life), Niederrheinische Gesellschaft fur Natur- and Heilkunde; Deutsche Geologische Gesellschaft." Thence he went to Italy and saw the volcanic regions near Rome and Naples, but returned in 1887 to Boston and Cambridge where for three years he devoted himself to the revision of his map of Northern Maine and to stamp collecting. In the fall of 1890 he received an offer from M. E. Wadsworth, head of the Geological Survey of Michigan and Director of its School of Mines, to join his staff, where Lane and Patton had preceded him. For the next ten years he and Lane were intimately associated in more than one way. On the State Survey both his keen eye for minerals and his legal and literary training proved valuable.

There is a little pencil note to him by M. E. Wadsworth which Lane kept to show the spirit of both men. Wadsworth had been in scientific controversies, and had used language which had offended more than he expected. He writes, "Please to see when I criticize work of others that the language is put in the best and least offensive form." It is safe to say that all that was published under Wadsworth's, his own, and much of Lane's administration owes much to him in form as well as in substance.

To anticipate a little, when the Regents had to answer an alumnus wrathful at some statement of a professor, the task was at once turned over to Hubbard, and one such letter runs as follows:

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 10th inst. with enclosures. The question you put to me is too broad to be answered "Yes" or "No". To what "activities" do you refer?

In the case of Professor Van Tyne, if you mean the lectures delivered by him in England and Scotland last year, do I understand that you believe in muzzling professors outside the class-room? If so, you are talking into an unsympathetic ear. Let me quote to you what was claimed for them fifty years ago. It was written by A. Ten Brook, one of Michigan's prominent professors (*American State Universities*, p. 285), in connection with the discussion of religious freedom, which was or is even a more delicate subject than that of historical deductions. He says:

"It is indeed expected that the subjects assigned them (the professors) severally to teach, will be first attended to; that the teaching of these will be their main business, and in their several class-rooms, their sole business, and . . . Students and professors lose no rights which they before possessed, except those which are distinctly given up in their contracts with the university. These contracts involve nothing but a good moral conduct and faithful discharge of their duties in the class-room, and other exercises actually laid down in the programme of duties. They may have arrangements for literary, and social, and why not for religious improvement, outside of their college work."

There is nothing in our By-laws, nor to my knowledge, in our modern practice that controverts that doctrine. Generally speaking, the professors outside the class-room are private citizens. If you have a valid grievance against any one of them, why not address your complaints directly to him rather than add to the burden already carried by busy men, by seeking to make them parties to your grievance,

Professors are human beings like all of us. Some of them at times wound the susceptibilities even of Regents, but we try to cultivate the grace of charity towards them because of their other good qualities. Professors must be chosen for their teaching ability and their supposed eminence in their several specialities; and here let me say that they are expected to teach their students to think and to draw their own conclusions, rather than to fill the students up with data or doctrines that may be obsolete in the next generation,

Some people believe that knowledge is progressive. Research uncovers evidence that if not unknown to our forbears, has at least lain hidden from us. Quoting again from Ten Brook (1 c. p. 191); "if the historian feels that he must eliminate from his material all that can ever give offense, it were well that he relinquish his task of writing." Each person may make from it his own deductions, and state them—in his own manner, at his own risk. If he is in error, or if his manner be in bad taste, or lack dignity, so much the worse for him. Discriminating critics will in the end take care of that. Of course this doctrine does not cover anarchy nor treason.

I believe, Sir, that you would save yourself and some others a good deal of annoyance if you would simply ignore these—to me—inconsequential matters, or laugh them off good-naturedly. Don't magnify them into an importance they do not deserve.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Lucius Lee Hubbard

Dr. Hubbard's business and legal training and command of executive and diplomatic language was of service not only to Dr. Wadsworth, but to himself as State Geologist and in the various positions in the educational, scientific and business world that he came to fill.

Dr. Lane had known him for years without realizing, until Hubbard happened to say so, that a red number on a green rock was not conspicuous to him. In spite of this colorblindness, his keenness of sight, and his discrimination of lusters and color as he did see them (he first called Lane's attention to the different color and luster of copper on its octahedral face) enabled him to be not only a great philatelist and a safe gatherer of mushrooms, but a first-class mineral collector, to the ultimate great advantage of the Michigan College of Mines.

He prepared the report on Minerals for M. E. Wadsworth's report as State Geologist 1892-3, and he gathered together a wonderful collection of calcites, upon which C. Palache prepared the report in Volume VI of the Michigan Geological Survey reports.

The chairman of the Board of the Geological Survey felt that the relations with the College of Mines were disadvantageous to the Survey. As a result the two organizations were separated in 1893 and Dr. Hubbard became State Geologist (1893-1899). Under his administration and close and valuable editorial supervision Volumes V and VI of the Reports were issued. To Volume V he contributed a much quoted discussion of the origin of salt, and to Volume VI a discussion of the Lodes and Geology of Keweenaw Point.

In 1899, dissatisfied with the State's provision for the Survey, and feeling his own work hampered, he resigned, and

was immediately employed to take charge of exploration for the St. Mary's Mineral Land Company and the Copper Range Company. For them within a year he located the Champion Mine, on the continuation of the Baltic Lode. This led to a close association with W. A. Paine in the development of the South Range locations, Painesdale, Freda and other places. So, though he continued without salary to help Dr. Lane who succeeded him, he published less and less of geologic and mineralogic interest; but much of his help is incorporated in Lane's report on the Keweenawan series.

As he grew older and his business cares less, and as, having brought the Champion mine to a dividend paying basis, he was superseded by a younger man, his life-long interest in collecting and literature grew. It was doubtless stimulated by his association with the University.

He did not drop business entirely. He was director of the Houghton National Bank and president of the Ojibway Copper Company and South Range Bank.

By 1914 his collection, "as complete and important a one as was ever privately made", of Americana became too much to house even in his fire proof library, and was sold. The carefully prepared sale catalogue is a bibliophile's item. He gave his mineral collection to the Michigan College of Mines. He rather concentrated on his study of the sources and editions of *Robinson Crusoe* and in early editions of *Gulliver's Travels* in which he showed that genius for minutiae which was a strong characteristic. His critical apparatus he finally gave to the University of Michigan. His collection of early mine reports and maps finally went to the Keweenaw Historical Society.

In the foreword of the Catalogue of Hubbard Americana sold in New York on April 3, 1935, Dr. Hubbard's daughter Charlotte pays the following tribute to her father:

"Quiet, gentle, unassuming as he was, even his family had small notion of his achievements. Patiently, perseveringly, persistently he pursued his various purposes, whether it was the

study of Indian place-names in Maine, the identification of volcanic rock in Germany, the determination of the most minute variations in shells on the Gulf of Mexico, or the discovery of consistently worn type that enabled him to throw new light on the early editions of "Robinson Crusoe" and "Gulliver's Travels". Eager for knowledge, he first collected books extensively to satisfy that eagerness; then the scientist asserted itself and he brought a scientifically trained mind to bear on bibliographical subjects and published exhaustive treatises on his findings. A seeker after truth, it mattered little to him that his books had a limited circulation."

Lane found one time in the British Museum some proof sheets of a pamphlet by Defoe with the Mss thereto. Photostats of them gave Dr. Hubbard keen pleasure as showing how certain misprints might have occurred and how Defoe read proof, as his letter³ shows.

³Michigan Geological Survey
Lucius L. Hubbard, State Geologist
A. C. Lane, Ass't State Geologist

Houghton, L. S., Mich. Sept 30 '24.

My dear Lane:

What more fitting than that I should find this pad on my writing table, just when I was sitting down to tell you that in my return from Ann Arbor yesterday I received your package, of photostats. Such a timely and appreciated gift I have probably not received for years. I wanted to write you immediately when you announced it from Europe, but did not know just when I could reach you at home.

Last night I spent some time looking for the combination *atch* in the Defoe mss. First let me say that I have a copy of the *Compleat English Gentleman* (1890), which of course you know was edited by Dr. Büllbring, who is now or was recently at Bonn; and having already struck a lead in your photostats, I shall go through the printed copy in the hope of finding more. In the 1st edition of R.C., in the preface, occurs the word *dispatch'd*, which in the 3rd (Lion) edition has been changed to *disputed*. For some reasons I believe Defoe had nothing to do with this change, and thus far this belief is strengthened. I cannot find *atch*, but I have found *utch* in *escutcheon*, and *acht* in *reproacht*, and the letters are so plain that no printer could mistake Defoe's *atch'd* for *uted*. I believe there is quite enough evidence here, in which to go to the jury! I shall let you know if I find anything more.

Meanwhile, I suppose you had a pleasant trip and hope you are back as vigorous and frisky as ever, and if the latter, I am sure no one will get your goat! We have had a delightful summer with Julia and her three kids to enliven things, altho' at times we have had to have a log fire. Mrs. H is quite as well as usual and yesterday were celebrated our 49th! by going to see the *Covered Wagon*.

Give our united warm regards to Madame Suzanne (if I may presume) and believe me as ever

Most sincerely yours,
Lucius L. Hubbard

With his wide educational, scientific, and business experience he was naturally appointed member of the Michigan College of Mines Board of Control, on which he remained from 1905

to 1917. He was also appointed by Governor Osborn member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan in 1910, was elected in 1911 and reelected continuously, resigning from failing health in the year of his decease, August 3, 1933.

In Dr. Hubbard's development of the great Copper Range locations the original trees and natural beauty of the sites was preserved to an unusual degree. He was a member of the American Forestry Association and his love of the woods led him to be ready of a Sunday afternoon for a stroll (his keen eye incidentally locating a number of edible mushrooms); for while he was an expert not only with his rifle but in cards and golf as well, on Sundays he had other occupations. He was a regular church attendant and communicant, warden in Houghton as well as Cambridge, and had served as delegate to the general convention of the Episcopal Church. He belonged to the Phillips Brooks wing of the denomination, and the *Christian Register* was in the family for years, but he never was one vociferously to champion his own point of view in anything. He backed the Upper Peninsula Missionary Alliance, in which Bishop G. Mott Williams of Marquette, the Methodist Presiding Elder and those in charge of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist home missionary work in the Upper Peninsula met and consulted.

He was not an abstainer, but was abstemious, and at one time even used to leave off smoking, of which he was very fond, during Lent, partly as he said to see if he could do so, and to prove that it was not becoming too much of a habit.

In all healthful movements he was interested. The Keweenaw Club was built largely by him, Lane and Patton (whose brother Normand S. Patton was architect) as a residence for young instructors. He lived there with his own family for a while. The Microcosmos and Houghton, the Onigaming Yacht Club and the Houghton Library all felt his help. He was a pioneer in Antituberculosis work, and backed the Painesdale and Houghton libraries and served for years on the County Board of Poor Commissioners. His relation to the Good Will

Farm is shown in the resolutions adopted on his death,⁴ and it is more noteworthy that he did not object to the institution being a near neighbor. Many a one will give to help orphan children who will object to their presence in the neighborhood.

His wife, Frances Lambard Hubbard, was a real helpmate through a long and somewhat wandering married life. With ample means she knew how to abound and be the lady bountiful, and also how to camp out. Not long after their golden wedding she passed into the larger life. As Hubbard wrote—

Whichever of a pair goes first, there is a tugging at the heart-strings, and perhaps I am better able to bear it, than would have been my loving companion, but it is going to be hard to come back to this empty house from time to time, and miss her cheery welcome.

Fortunately I have somethings to divert and keep me from brooding, and friends to comfort me."

Both with her and Dr. Hubbard a certain quiet dignity and lack of boisterousness masked a real simplicity and friendliness of nature.

During the latter part of his life he spent the winters in Bradenton, Florida, and collected hundreds of specimens of *Strombus pugilis* and classified them according to their variations, one set going to the University of Michigan, while other Florida shells go back to Florida as a memorial and incentive.

⁴The following resolution was unanimously adopted in honor of the late Dr. L. L. Hubbard:

"Whereas, Dr. Lucius Lee Hubbard served as an active and valuable member of the Board of Trustees of the Good Will Farm association for twenty years, having an almost unbroken record of attendance, except when absent from the village, and

"Whereas, He always exhibited his sincerely unselfish interest, not only in the happiness and physical wellbeing of the wards of the Farm, but was desirous that they be taught to value the finer things of life in order that they might be the better equipped to take their places in the world as useful men and women. and,

"Whereas, His recent passing has created a vacancy in our membership that can never be completely filled, because there was but one Dr. Hubbard.

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that, since this was Dr. Hubbard's ideal of the mission of Good Will Farm, it shall, in his honor and memory be the aim of those who must carry on, without his wise counsel, helpful interest and kindly friendship, which were of immeasurable value to our work, and

"Be it further resolved, That we, as members of the Good Will Farm Association, the Board of Trustees and our Superintendent, Miss Elizabeth MacDougall, take this means of expressing our sorrow and deep regret over his passing and to extend to his daughters, Mrs. Horatio Stewart Goodell, Mrs. Robert Flaherty and Mrs. Platt Adams, our sincere sympathy in their bereavement, and

"Be it further resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and a copy be sent to each of his daughters."

Signed: Board of Trustees,
Good Will Farm.

He went to Lake Superior for his summers, stopping at Ann Arbor on the way. He passed away at Eagle Harbor, August 3, 1933.

Dr. Hubbard well deserved the encomium of the Portage Lake *Mining Gazette*—

"Of a quiet, friendly, hospitable nature, Dr. Hubbard appeared not to grow old, despite his years, because he kept up his interest in life and living things. He had the human touch that gave him deep sympathy for suffering wherever he found it, and, as was possible to him, he translated this sympathy into deeds of kindness and of love. Many little almost unremembered acts of sympathy and of kindness and good will, hidden from the outside world, and known only to his intimate friends, will now be recalled of him. . .

"Scientist—scholar—wise in his philosophy of life, because his reverence for things spiritual, and his deep religious faith and experience, had taught him how to live quietly and purposefully, with patience, tolerance and obedience to Divine will and command; he was and remained a student always, even unto death. He was an optimist always, who might have said with Robert Louis Stevenson—'Little do ye know your blessings; for to travel hopefully on, is better than to arrive.' Thus young in spirit, for he maintained his enthusiasm and his interest in life, he grew old gracefully, in the sense that life is measured in years. With an intellect, trained and alert and eager to know more about life and all its meaning, he was a rare companion anywhere and everywhere, because in conversation, he could draw upon a veritable storehouse of knowledge. And withal, he was a kindly, considerate, understanding, compassionate friend."

President Ruthven of the University of Michigan said—

"As a regent, Dr. Hubbard was the member of the board who could always be counted upon to undertake important studies in which accuracy was a chief consideration. For years he has been relied upon to insist upon absolute accuracy in the minutes of the board. It was he who was selected by his colleagues to codify the by-laws of the University in 1923 when they were so sadly in need of revision. He also made an exceedingly useful compilation of state laws, constitutional provisions, and legal decisions affecting the University which was published before his edition of the by-laws.

"There is so much that Regent Hubbard has done for the University of Michigan, and he had made himself so definitely a part of the University community that I hope, and his many friends here will join me, that his retirement does not mean that we shall not frequently see him on the Campus.

"He was a member of the University club of Ann Arbor and during his visits to Ann Arbor was a regular visitor at the club, enjoying his contacts with the faculty men who gather there each day."

His children who survive are:

Charlotte Armitage (Mrs. H. S. Goodell).

Frances (Mrs. R. J. Flaherty) who married an explorer, well-known for his anthropological moving pictures, son of a Port Arthur mining engineer.

Julia (Mrs. Platt Adams) of New Jersey.

All have children, and grandchildren were frequent about the house.

His geological publications are as follows:

Macroscopic minerals of Michigan. Mich. G. S., Rp 1891-2: 174-6 (1893).

(With Koenig, G A) On powellite from a new locality. Am. Journ. Sc. (3) 46: 356-8 (1893).

Two new geological cross sections of Keweenaw Point (Mich.) Lake Sup. M. Inst., Pr II: 79-96 (1894).

The Relation of the vein at the Central mine, Keweenaw Point to the Kearsage conglomerate., Lake Sup. M. Inst., Pr III: 74-93 (1895).

Plea for Accurate Maps, VII: 105-118 (1901).

Footwall Shafts in Lake Superior Copper Mines, Copper District, XVII: 144-161 (1912).

The Origin of Salt, gypsum, and petroleum, Mich. G. S. 5 pt 2 (1895). Keweenaw Point, with particular reference to the felsites and their associated rocks. Mich. G. S. 6 pt 2 Maps. 1898.

Sixth Annual Report of the State Geologist. Extracts from the Annual reports of the state geologist of Michigan. 9 pp., Lansing 1899.

Work of the Geological Survey in the Upper Peninsula. Mich. Miner. 3 no 3: 9 (1901).

Geological Notes on the Lake Superior copper formation. L. Sup. M. Inst., Pr. XVII 9-11 (1912) (unsigned).

In the Lake Superior area what influence, if any, did thickness and contour of foot wall beds have upon the subsequent deposition and distribution of copper in overlying beds? (with discussion) L. Sup. M. Inst. Pr. XVII: 227-237, (1912).

Article on Copper (native) in Encyclopedia Americana.

Among other titles which will suggest his interests are the following:

The University of Michigan, its origin, growth and principles of government.

Contributions towards a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels by Lucius L. Hubbard. Chicago, Walter M. Hill, 1922 (200 copies printed).

Sjouke Gabbes, A Dutch Source for Robinson Crusoe by Lucius L. Hubbard. Ann Arbor, Geogre Wahr, publisher, 1921.

Is Tobago Robinson Crusoe's Island? Reprint from *Trinidad Guardian*, February 21, 1927. See *Outlook* 1923, page 277.

Text changes in the Taylor editions of *Robinson Crusoe* with remarks on the Cox Edition. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Chicago, 1928.

Did Columbus discover Tobago? In "Essays offered to Herbert Putnam," Yale University Press.

Did Columbus discover the islands Antiqua and St. Mark? *Geographical Review* October 1931 21: p. 58-597.

Notes on Colombian Stamps, *American Philatelist*, April 1933 pp. 337-348.

Number 563—1914. Rare Americana. The private library of Lucius L. Hubbard of Houghton, Michigan. To be sold at auction Tuesday, May 5th by Meriom Sales Company, 16 East 40th Street, New York City.

There are probably many other notes on stamps.

A DISTINGUISHED 48'ER: EDUARD DORSCH *Chicago*

BY HAROLD G. CARLSON

Associate Professor of German
Wells College

AURORA-ON-CAYUGA, NEW YORK

THE year 1937 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the death of one of Michigan's most distinguished and interesting citizens, Eduard Dorsch, who has secured a niche for himself in German-American culture as a physician and educator, a poet and philosopher.

America, the polyglot of races, the melting pot of the world, is deeply indebted to those who have contributed in a large measure to our culture. The exodus of 1848-49 from Germany brought many fine representatives of that nation,—men trained in the crafts, the arts, and the sciences, industrious men with ideas and ideals, with a love of truth and liberty. Such a man was Eduard Dorsch. Indeed his many-sidedness was unusual: poet, newspaper correspondent, physician, educator, connoisseur of art and drama, naturalist, philosopher.

Eduard Dorsch was born January 10, 1822, in Würzburg, Bavaria. He studied for his chosen profession of medicine in Munich and Vienna. When Germany began to seethe with rebellious forces in the forties, Dorsch added his voice to the general discontent. He became active for the cause of freedom and the radical tendencies fostered during that period of unrest found expression in poems and articles pleading for the overthrow of the established state and church. Early in the spring of 1849, after the unsuccessful revolution, he was doomed to experience the humiliation inflicted upon so many others also, that of expatriation. He left for America to seek a Utopia where he might live in freedom from political tyranny and religious dogma. What he experienced in crossing the sea, what he hoped to find at the end of his journey, his hopes, fears, impressions, are admirably portrayed in his poems.

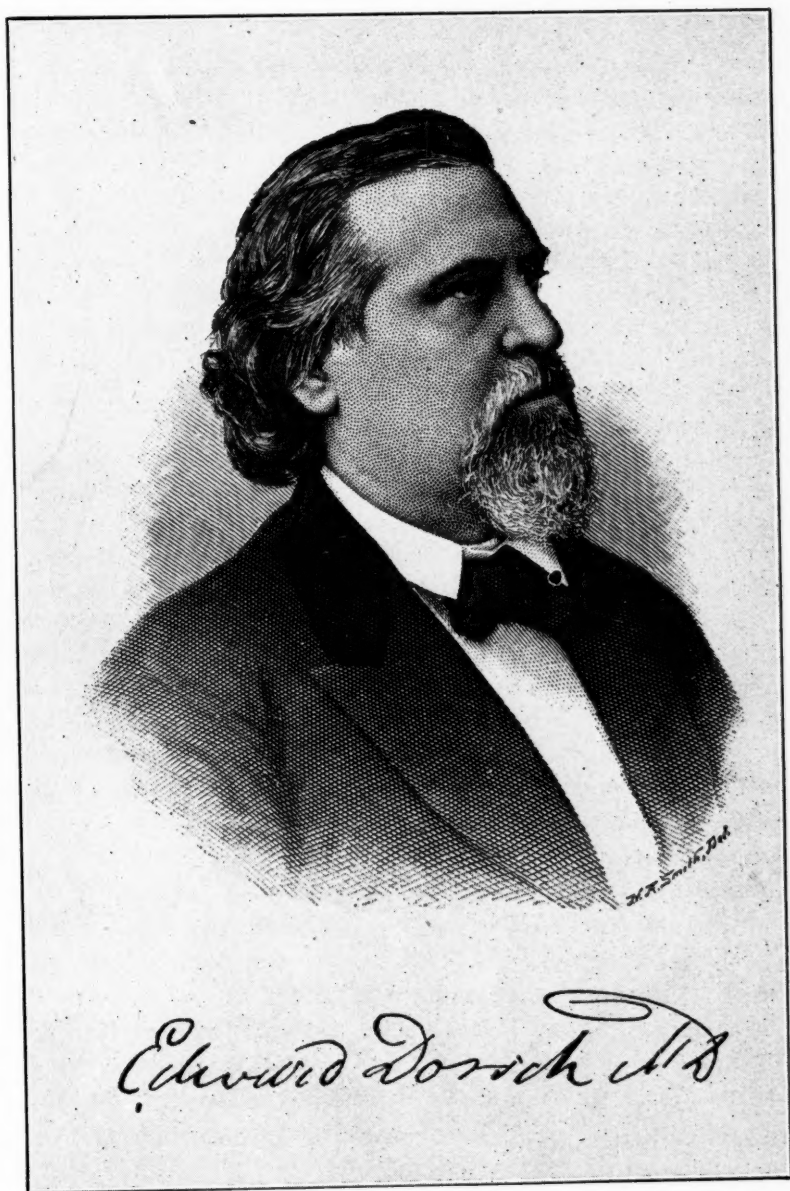
This article is based on a book-size manuscript written by Professor Carlson, now in his possession. The first draft of the original monograph was submitted as a Master's thesis at Cornell University and is deposited in the Cornell University Library.

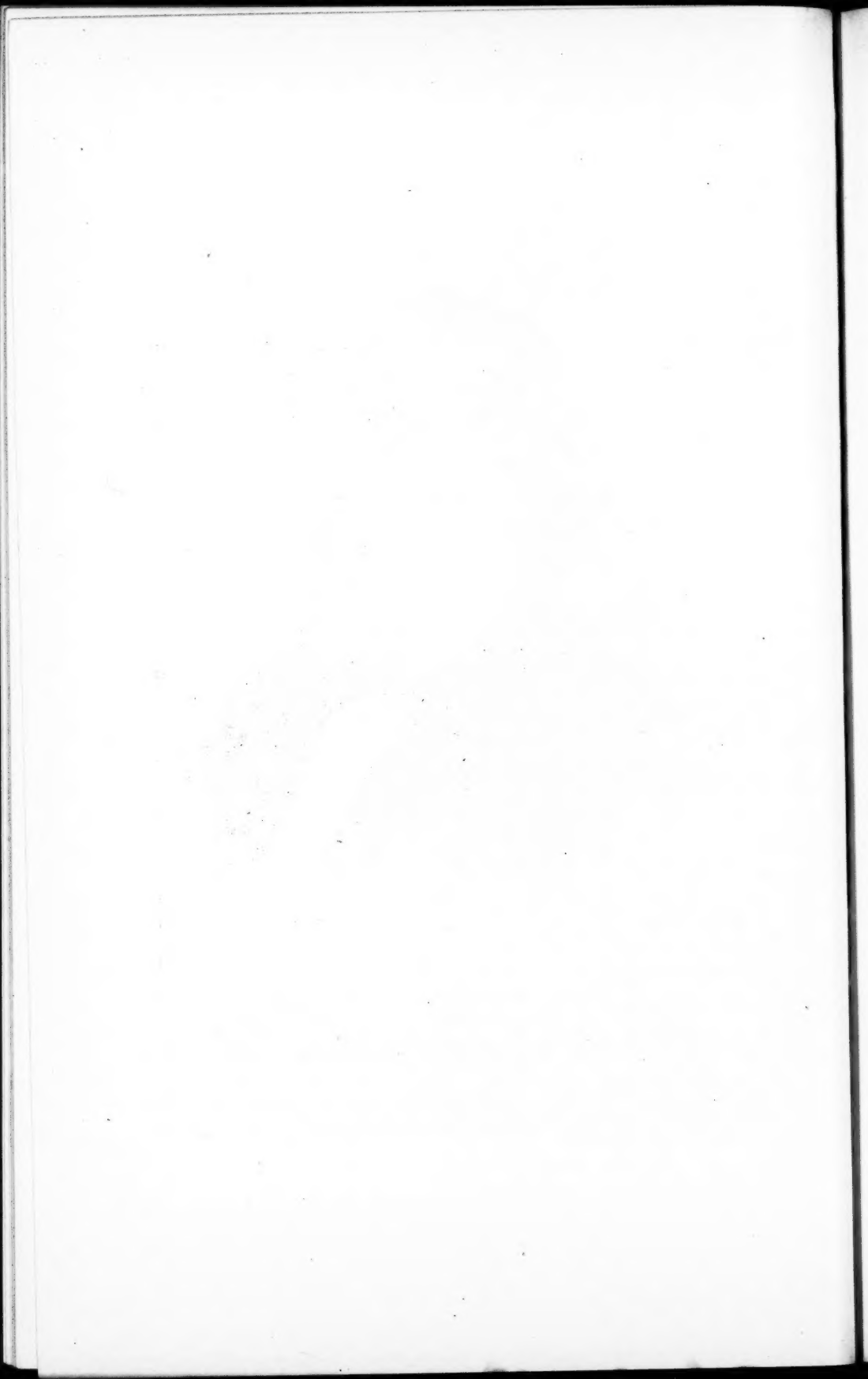
After his arrival in New York, he was married to Sophia Hartung. They had one son, who died when only eight months of age. Dorsch was at first engaged chiefly as a newspaper correspondent, but he soon left New York to practice medicine in Detroit. He had been there less than a year when he was told of an opportunity in that field at Monroe, Michigan. He moved there in October of the same year, 1849.

He was twenty-seven when he began his work in Monroe which was to be his home for the remainder of his life, for thirty-eight years. Here he was destined to lead an unusually active life. He was very successful as a physician, and was loved for his sincere, genuine sympathy and understanding. He was appointed examining surgeon for the pension office in 1862, and this position he held until his death. He entered into the community life in many ways. He was keenly interested in art, plastic and dramatic. He was considered an authority on national costumes, and whenever masquerades were held or theatrical performances given, he would plan the costumes with great detail and accuracy. It has been said that Dorsch was also an artist of merit, that he painted flowers beautifully, gracefully and with an unstudied effect.

Dorsch's love for nature led him to convert his home into a veritable zoological garden. There were cases with rare specimens of butterflies and insects, corals and shells, collected by himself. He built a large bay window for his birds on one side of the house, and here he kept a white cock-a-too, a large red parrot, and a small green one. In the garden outside was a large cage with two bald-eagles, whose hideous shrieks enlivened the neighborhood. In a marsh near his home were large beds of lotus, imported and planted by Dr. Dorsch, who is said to be the first ever to bring the seeds of this particular species of lotus, the Egyptian lotus, over to America.

Dorsch was interested in the historical background of America. He protested vigorously against the invasion of white men upon Indian territory, and he pleaded warmly for the preservation of fast-dying species of animal life here.





In the campaign for Lincoln he was especially active, contributing articles to the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, and in 1860 he was presidential elector from what was then the second district, on the ticket headed by Lincoln. His is, apparently, the first German-American name to appear in the representation of Michigan in the electoral college since her admission as a state in the union. In local politics, Dorsch constantly declined to participate, and refused all local offices except an appointment on the State Board of Education from 1872-78.

In September 1884, Dorsch's first wife died, and in 1885 he married Augusta Uhl. Less than two years later, January 10, 1887, exactly sixty-five years from the time of his birth, came the end of his most useful and active life.

Besides his numerous contributions of poetry and prose to various publications, three volumes of his works were published during his life. The first volume, appearing shortly after his settlement in Monroe was *Kurze Hirtenbriefe an mein Volk, Diesseits und Jenseits des Ozeans*. In 1875, the *Freidenker* of Milwaukee published a small volume of *Parabasen*, and in 1884 there appeared his best work in a volume of *Lieder aus der Alten und Neuen Welt*, published by the New York International News Company.

His valuable library, containing splendid collections of the German classics, as the works of Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, Schelling, Heine, Freiligrath, and many others, was left to the city of Monroe in the bequest of the late Mrs. Augusta Uhl Dorsch, in accordance with his oft-repeated wish. His home is now the "Dorsch Memorial Library". The major part of Dorsch's books on medicine and other sciences was donated to the University of Michigan, where they are now distinguished by a special bookplate.

Dorsch has never fully come into his own, either in the view of contemporary criticism or in the estimation of posterity. The few critics who have attempted to estimate his worth have generally judged him unjustly. There are probably two reasons for this: first, I believe they were not acquainted

with the large bulk of his writing, and secondly, one critic has borrowed the judgments of another without investigation of the works themselves. In fairness to Dorsch, it is time to correct the false impressions handed down, and to give him his proper place in German-American literature.

Critics have agreed that Dorsch was inspired by a genuine, ardent love for liberty, that he was able to illuminate his experiences and make every-day events interesting, and that he proceeded self-reliantly. Konrad Nies gave the fairest appraisal of the poet, placing him high among the forty-eighters and regarding him as one of the most important representatives of "Young Germany". G. W. Zimmerman, in *Deutsch in Amerika*, considered Dorsch "the most important and versatile poet of the forty-eighters". But practically all the criticisms emphasize the philosopher, the thinker, and the revolutionary. No doubt, this is a very important part of Dorsch's work, and can be explained by the "milieu" in Germany where he was brought up. That he was a poet of protest is especially evident in his *Parabasen*. This is, however, only one phase of Dorsch's contributions to literature.

The criticism that lyrical tones are seldom struck by Dorsch is obviously unjust. Not only did he write many lyrics, but these are among his best creations, purely lyrical in content and form, and often surpassing those of his compatriots. His nature poems are particularly successful, as are those with an epic note. When the revolutionary disposition gave way to a contemplative maturity, he wrote poems which are of permanent worth.

We can heartily agree with the critic in the *History of Monroe, Michigan* that "were it possible for us to translate into English and preserve the force and expression of the original, we feel that for depth of thought, warmth of feeling, and terseness of expression the writings of Dr. Dorsch would equal those of a Longfellow or a Whittier."

Therefore, when we consider Dorsch, we must emphasize not one of these phases of his creative activity, but all. We must

have in mind the poet of protest, the lyricist, and the philosopher. Only by so doing can we justly appreciate his poetry, and assign to Dorsch his proper place in literature.

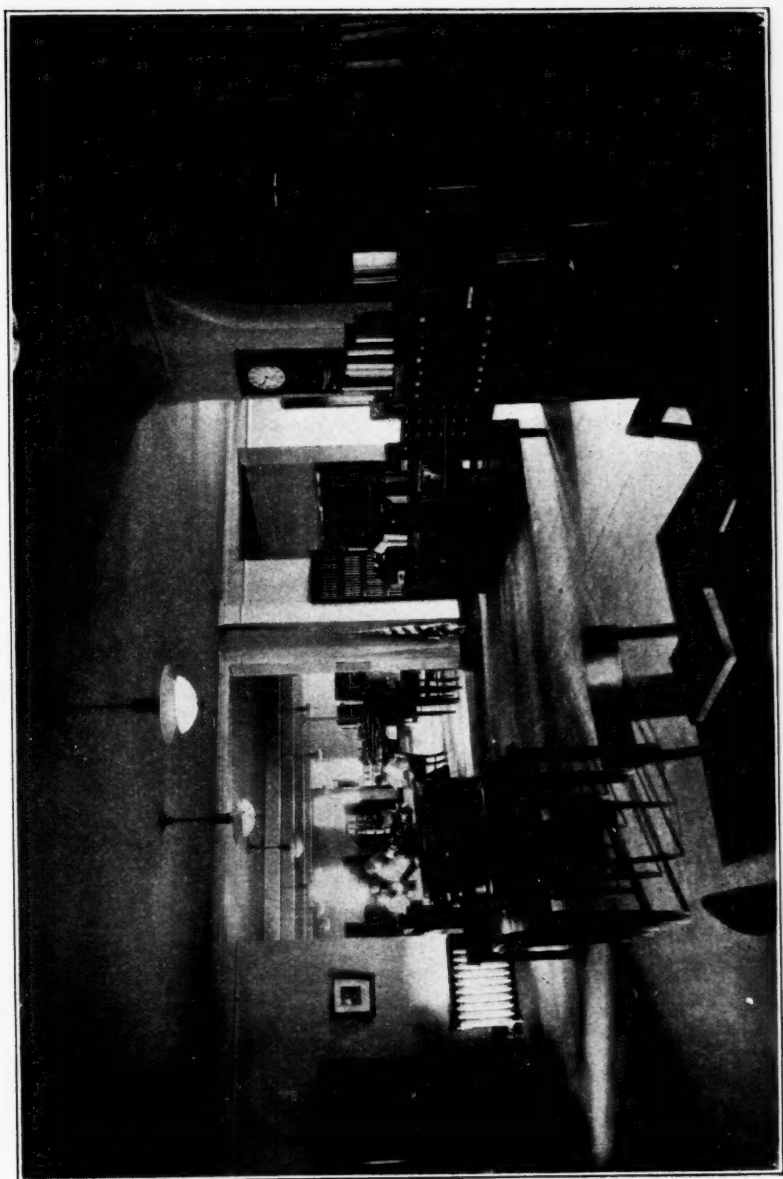
The volume of *Lieder* (or *Gedichte, aus der Alten und Neuen Welt*) was published just four years before Dorsch's death. It is this volume to which critics refer when praising him for his talent. It is an excellent collection of Dorsch's poems arranged chronologically so that we are able to read poems of his early days while a student at Munich, and poems written near the close of life under the title *Herbstblätter*. The foresight of the poet or the publishers thus makes the task of criticism much more pleasant and fascinating. Like an album of pictures it reveals the life of the poet from youth to maturity. It represents his impressions of the times, his reactions, and his subjective, introspective moods. He is often expressing what thousands of his compatriots felt, and we can thus picture the reactions of those Germans as a group. Here he shows his hatred of sham, hypocrisy, injustice; his love of truth, beauty, nature, and his country. We watch rebellion, blazing vigorously in youth, finally subside into the more steady glow of maturity, when he has poise, deeper contemplation, and when his sympathies are warmer, and his understanding greater. His *Parabasen* are clever, and show dexterity in adapting form and thought to that type of poetry, but they are infinitely less worth-while poetically. There he has heaped satire upon satire, and they reveal the cynic—though not without humor. There his poetry at times deteriorates into petty cavilling, and often shocks the aesthetic ear. But in the *Gedichte* the poet of protest is subordinate, and the lyricist comes to the foreground. The philosopher, too, finds frequent expression here. This volume answers the objection that Dorsch seldom strikes a purely lyrical note.

Dorsch's love lyrics in this collection are genuine and sincere. Here the romantic elements of Dorsch's nature are permanently expressed, in youth and in maturity. There is a quality in them which contrasts distinctly with the naiveté of Prutz, the bitterness of Platen, or the cynicism of Heine.

It is, perhaps, their mellowness and harmony and the rich maturity of the poet.

Throughout the poems of Dorsch we are impressed by the trend of philosophic thought. A very clearly expressed pantheism, inspired by his feeling of oneness with nature and the unity within the world, can be attributed to the influence of Spinoza. To Spinoza, Dorsch was also indebted for enlightenment on the subject of Being. Grateful for the revelations which the *Ethics* of the former had brought to him, he has dedicated to him two poems entitled "Benedictus sit". The poems in which Dorsch appears preeminently a philosopher are numerous, and form a distinct group in his creative work. In contemporary criticism this is the phase which is stressed, and certainly Dorsch was extremely successful in the poetic expression of his philosophy. Some of the best poems in this respect are "Das Gebet", "Antwort", "Ein neuer Diogenes spricht", "Leben" and "Amun".

Those critics of German-American poetry who have overlooked Dorsch's nature lyrics have neglected some of the best of the German-American poems. Few of his compatriots have surpassed him in describing scenes of the "Urwald", the forest primeval. Dorsch venerated the American forest. He was inspired by its every mood. Penetrating its innermost sanctum to observe nature more closely, he revels with true poet's delight in its pantheistic intimacy. An anthology of typical "Urwald" poems should include some of Dorsch's, because his are especially realistic and recreate the majesty and moods of the great forest. He observed with the eyes of a scientist, but portrayed with the hand of an artist and the heart of a poet. In "Trösterin Natur", written shortly after the death of his only child, he suggests that sympathy and consolation may be found in the forest. "Blauer Duft", "Im Herbstlichen Wald", and "Ein Falterleben" are perhaps his best nature lyrics. Dorsch justly deserves the appreciation expressed in the *History of Monroe, Michigan* which states, "He threw his whole soul out and showed his innermost thought and feeling until



DORSCH MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MONROE, MICHIGAN

his poems were so beautiful and rich in thought and quaint expression you could almost call them pictures."

Far from being an unimportant part of his poetic creations, these lyrics are among his best. In evaluating Dorsch's contribution to German-American literature, they are not to be neglected. Any consideration of him must rank the lyricist equally as high as the poet of protest or the philosopher.

The dreams of a Utopia, which many of those who came to our shores had had, were often rudely shattered. Slavery was particularly horrifying, and against this institution Dorsch with many others raises his voice in protest. His expressions of genuine sympathy for the negro and his warnings, which sound like the rolling of distant thunder, remind us strongly of Longfellow, Whittier, and Freiligrath. "Am Ohio", 1858, relates an episode similar to that of Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", which had appeared in 1851. The incident is the flight of a slave with her child. The fugitive leaps to her death in the cold waters, however, rather than live as a slave. "Ein Abolitionist", 1860, is the story of a pretty negress and a voluptuous master, and reminds us of Longfellow's "The Quadroon Girl". Dorsch wrote many poems about the Civil War. One poem laments the lack of speedy action, the cautious, dilatory methods of the leaders. Others strike an elegiac note. In the last poem of this group, "Unsere Toten", he sings a stirring eulogy to those who lost their lives in this war for freedom.

In the small volume of *Parabasen* we find Dorsch as a poet of protest, an iconoclast. His satire is directed chiefly at the intolerance of the church, political corruption, sham and ignorance. These *Parabasen* sound quite modern in their import. Scandals, hypocracies, and superstitions of his age are vividly depicted. Through these poems runs a humorous vein and the delightful manner of an excellent story-teller. Here it may be said, however, that Dorsch often neglected the muse in his ardent, often vehement, search for truth, and the criticism that the thinker "overruled the poet" may be applied with justice.

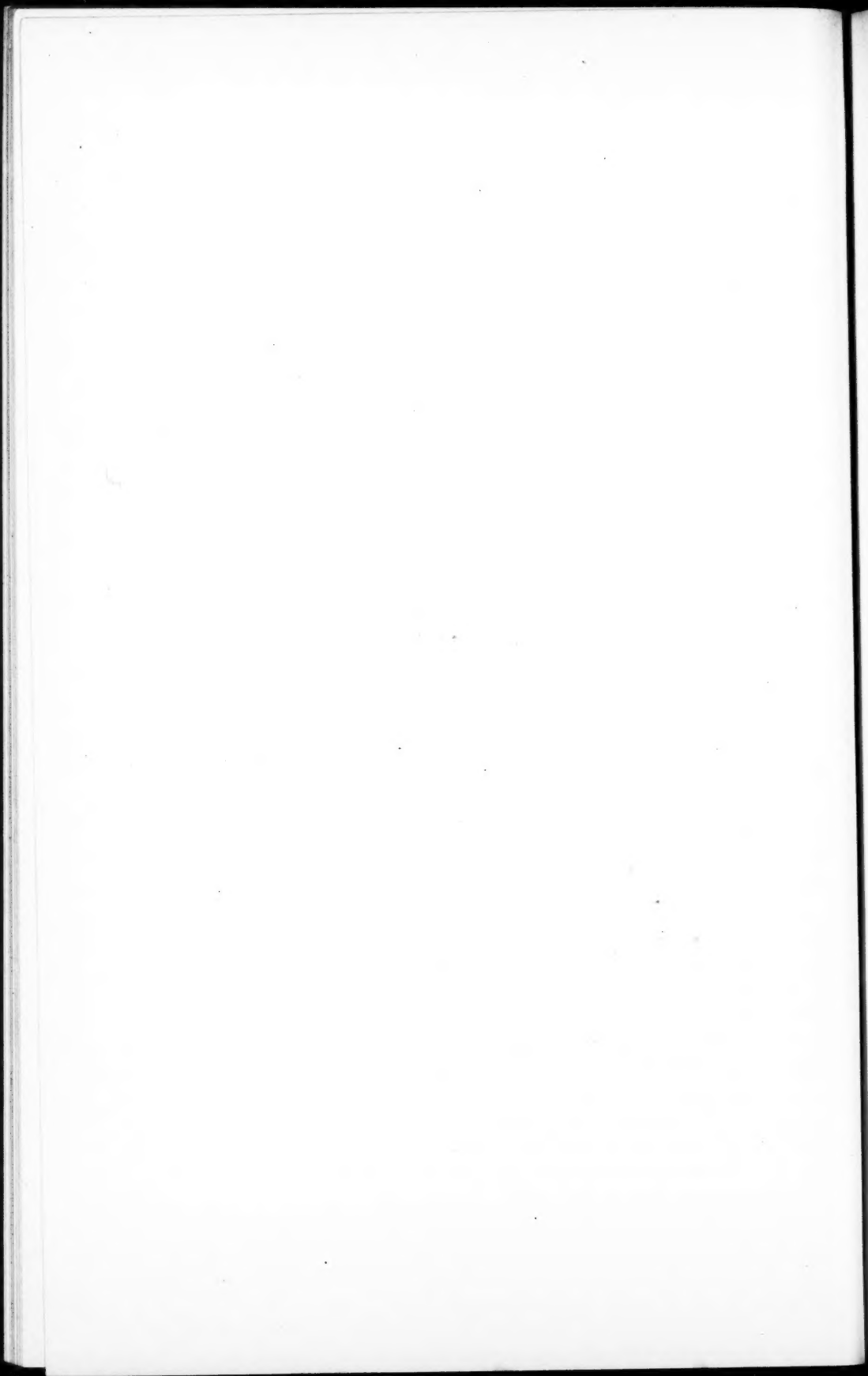
Aside from the many poems published in various periodicals, newspapers, and in collections, there are many of Dorsch's poems which never appeared in print. On the title page of a volume of *Gedichte von Hermann Lingg*, from the Dorsch library, are the words, "mit Anmerkungen von Ed. Dorsch", in the handwriting of the latter. To many of Lingg's poems in this volume, Dorsch has added verses of his own in the same form and metre. They comment upon or criticize the poems to which they are appended. Written in a beautiful German script, neatly and clearly, they are not difficult to decipher. These additions are invaluable in any discussion of Dorsch's character, of his radicalism, especially concerning the church, and of his critical attitude toward all questions. Among these annotations are four complete sonnets. Since the verses are written in pencil and, therefore, liable to easy annihilation with "thumbing", the author of this article has retained copies of all of them.

These poems, apparently not intended for publication, have never come to the attention of critics, and yet they are very important in any study of the poet. Dorsch had become even more critical with maturity; the poems are more caustic and satirical. The iconoclast within him is even stronger than before, and he shatters image after image in his inexorable war on the lies of life. Though they add little to his poetic achievement, they are fascinating in revealing the man of maturity, the poet of protest.

Though Dorsch's importance lies chiefly in his poetry, his prose essays deserve consideration. Dorsch had always been much sought after as a correspondent for various newspapers and periodicals. An investigation of the files of the *Belletristisches Journal* reveals a number of interesting articles by him. In many of these we note the same vein of protest, the fiery radicalism and candid opinion shown in the *Parabasen* and other poems. It is, however, predominately the scientist we find here. In "Alltägliche Bleivergiftung", for example, he issued a warning against the use of common articles through which lead poisoning might occur. In "Aussterbende Pflanzen-

familien", as the title suggests, he gives a scientific classification of plant life which was gradually disappearing, and in "Ausgestorbene Geschlechter" he pleads for the preservation of the rapidly disappearing buffalo, moose, and elk. In "Untergangene Kultur" he discusses a contemporary archeological expedition to Mexico and chides the leader, Vollmer, for his unscientific account of what he had found there. This tendency to insist upon the distinction between poet and scientist is typical of Dorsch. Besides these articles he has written translations into German of stories by American and foreign writers. Dorsch's prose is clear, vigorous, fluent, and vivid, and these adjectives may well be used to describe his writing in general.

The study of Dorsch's life and works reveals the unusual fullness of his career and the great extent of his contributions to the culture of his adopted country. And, finally, it is as a poet that we must consider him, minor perhaps, when measured by absolute standards, but nevertheless very important when placed into contemporary environment or into the history of German-American literature.



CENTENNIAL NOTES

Wm. C. C. C.

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WE are making history today at a speed that was not exceeded during the years when Michigan became a state.

The social consequences of the changes we are witnessing may be as far-reaching in their effect on the future of Michigan as were the results of the fight of the pioneers to conquer the Michigan wilderness. Whether the consequences of these changes will be for good or evil is for the future to disclose and for the historian to record.

The point to emphasize is, that Michigan's history is in the making.

As a matter of fact we are all historians, writing our record into civilization. And each generation is saved from return to savagery by one thing, and that is history—which, written or unwritten, is in its true sense the record of our combined knowledge.

There are many illustrations of this truth. For example, you are in the insurance business. As businesses go that business is relatively in its infancy. Yet there is a vast history of the insurance business. It is the record of the trials and errors by which modern insurance companies have grown and progressed, and by which they avoid the pitfalls of the past and build for the future. The first insurors were gamblers and they necessarily asked high odds because they were taking long chances. Today they read history in the form of mortality tables and other actuarial data, and their policies have ceased to be lottery tickets. The insurance business has become a science, and all science, it is obvious, has its foundations in the records of the past—in history.

You say, this is not history, but the source material from which history is written. That may be true from the viewpoint of the writer of history. But in a broad sense, these records of businesses, industries and crafts are in themselves histories because trained experts can read and act upon them as they exist without further organization. In this broad

sense, therefore, any collection of records upon which men or businesses base the conduct of their affairs may be called history. And if that is true, then our whole civilization is dependent upon the preservation and accessibility of history. The proper care of historical records becomes the business of everybody.

Public appropriations for historical work have been reduced everywhere. This condition is offset to a considerable extent by the vigor and cheerfulness with which the historical staffs have carried on their work. Though even in days of prosperity they had to exercise rigid economy, they have recognized the special need for government economy during hard times, and they have done their utmost with reduced budgets. They do not suppose that historical agencies should or could be exempt from reductions in a period of prolonged depression.

However, it is clearly within the province of the members of the Historical Commission and of the State Historical Society to do all in their power to impress upon the public the value of the Commission and of the Society, to promote wider understanding of the necessity of adequate support, to call upon their friends for defense, to consider how they can most effectively present their needs to legislators, to harbor no defeatist attitude.

In this Centennial period of Michigan's statehood, let us bear in mind that popular interest in Michigan history is on the increase and the value of the state's historical work is gaining a wider public understanding than it has ever had before. The Historical Commission are making slender resources go a long way towards serving the needs of the state in a critical period of history. They need and deserve all the support the people can give them.

To Mr. Herbert K. Lindsley, practical minded president of the Farmers and Bankers Life Insurance Company of Wichita, Kansas, who is President of the Kansas State Historical Society, the editor is indebted for some of the reflections here set forth, conveyed to us by the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

BUSINESS history is a field of increasing importance. Whether the investigator fifty years from now finds the records of our time fragmentary and inadequate, will depend upon the present cooperation of representative business concerns and historical agencies.

Historical agencies should give attention to collecting representative business records especially of 1932 and 1933. They will have a peculiar value in the future. They will mark both the bottom of the depression and the last of the period before the codes.

Presumably few records of this period have yet been destroyed. Joint effort could preserve them permanently. Eventually they could be placed in some suitable repository.

Preservation also of sample business records in the year following the establishment of codes would be invaluable to historians, economists, and business men of the future.

ON Saturday evening, October 5, the State Historical Society will hold a meeting in Battle Creek in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the adoption of Michigan's first state constitution. This will be a dinner meeting at the Post Tavern. Members of the Michigan Supreme Court and of the State Bar Association will be prominently connected with this event. An appropriate program of speaking and music has been arranged for the occasion.

On the evening of October 4, also in Battle Creek, there will be a dinner meeting, later to be fully announced, in recognition of the life and work of Ezra Convis, who was elected first speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives in 1835. That afternoon there will be unveiled a tablet to the memory of Mr. Convis.

In the afternoon of October 5 there will be a colorful historical parade representing typical pioneer scenes of 100 years ago in Michigan, following which there will be dedicated the corner stone of the United States History Stone Tower, to be

composed of stones from historic spots in various parts of the nation, including over 100 from Michigan. This historic shrine will be dedicated with appropriate ceremony to the High School Boys and Girls and the Boy Scouts of Michigan.

On November 2, in Detroit, the Society will meet to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first meeting of the first Michigan state legislature, which convened in that city then the capital of Michigan, on November 2, 1835. This also will be a dinner meeting, at Hotel Statler, and Governor Fitzgerald is expected to speak on this occasion together with notable members of former Michigan legislatures. Michigan's delegation in Congress will have a prominent part in this event.

These meetings will be open to the general public. The chairman of general arrangements for the Battle Creek meeting is Mr. Rudolph Habermann, Secretary of the Battle Creek Chamber of Commerce, and for the Detroit meeting Mr. Orla B. Taylor, President of the Detroit Historical Society. Information may be obtained either from Mr. Habermann and Mr. Taylor, or from the office of the State Historical Society at Lansing.

THE attention of teachers as well as of general readers is called to the very instructive series of articles in *Detroit Saturday Night* (March 16-June 14, 1935) on prominent subjects in the development of Michigan from earliest times down to entrance into statehood, the series written by Dr. Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. The *Detroit News* has been carrying a notable pageant of men and events in its Sunday rotogravure section pictorially presenting outstanding features in the history of early Michigan and the Great Lakes region, the text being provided by Mr. Ralph Peters. It is noteworthy that in both of these series the ideals of scholarship have been observed, without lessening in any manner the "human interest appeal," a practice to be highly commended. The Michigan press in general has responded to the public interest in state and local

history that has been stimulated by the numerous Centennial observances throughout the state in 1935. This interest which is cumulative will undoubtedly bear fruit in the year ahead.

Another long and useful life came to an end when Trustee Clarence E. Bement, once President of the Michigan State Historical Society, passed away on June 9 at the age of 79 years.

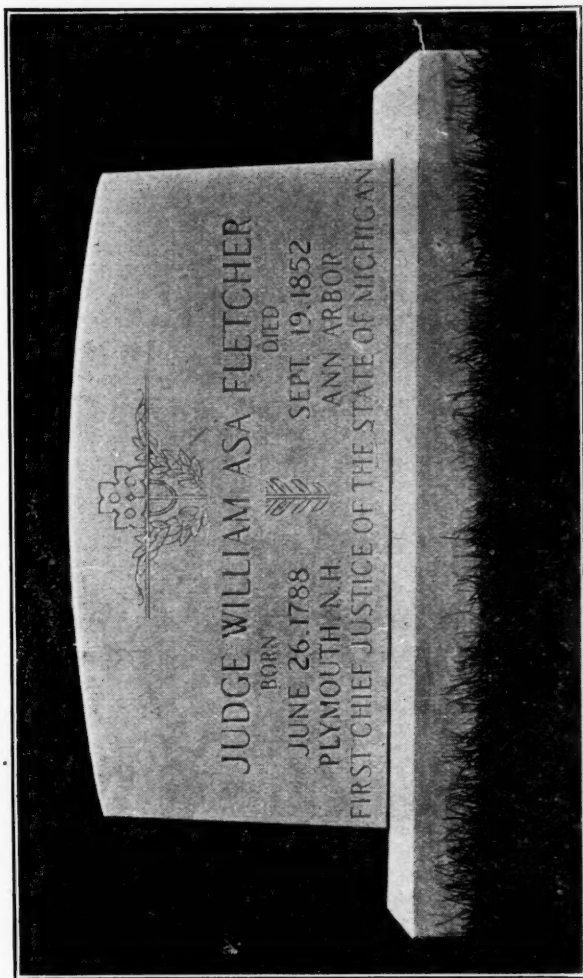
Mr. Bement was born at Fostoria, Ohio, in 1856. His father, Edwin Bement, native of Massachusetts (born 1820), had passed on to his son Clarence the conservative traditions of New England. The family came to Lansing in 1869 when Clarence was 13 years old, where the father engaged (1871) in the manufacture of plows, plow points, and iron kettles. Here in the public schools of Lansing the son's early schooling was obtained. He graduated from the High School in 1874, with the second class to graduate from that school. Two years later he completed the classical course in the same school, and in 1876 he entered the University of Michigan. In 1880 he went into partnership with his father at Lansing, and from that time until 1932 he was a part of Lansing's industrial life. In 1907 Clarence Bement became affiliated with the Hildreth Manufacturing Company in North Lansing, a pioneer plant in the manufacture of gas engines. Two years later the Novo Engine Company emerged from the Hildreth Company, and during the quarter century following, this plant was skillfully nurtured from pioneer beginnings into the great corporation it is today, capitalized at near a million dollars and employing some 600 men, one of the world's largest manufacturers of oil engines and contractors' equipment.

The life of Mr. Bement was distinguished in many ways apart from his business enterprise. He was socially-minded and his life was devoted to his community and state. He saw business as a social agency for the meeting of human needs. He always found time for civic and educational affairs. From 1898 to 1910 he was almost continuously a member of Lansing's school board. He had an extensive and well selected

library at his home on Seymour Street, a portion of it devoted to a very fine collection of material on the life and writings of Daniel De Foe, one of his literary hobbies. He was in great demand as a speaker and was well known over the state especially to persons of literary and historical interests. This somewhat rare combination of cultural and business qualities, his sound views of life and his progressive policies, made him easily an outstanding spokesman for his community and his business associations in the state and nation.

Mr. Bement leaves a son, Roberts, production superintendent of the Novo Engine Company, Lansing, and a daughter, Constance, who is on the staff of the Michigan State Library.

MICHIGAN'S first chief justice, William A. Fletcher, justice of the Michigan Supreme Court 1836-1842, and member of the board of regents of the University of Michigan 1842-1846, was honored Memorial Day by the unveiling of a monument to his memory in Forest Hills cemetery, Ann Arbor. Chief Justice William W. Potter paid a well merited tribute to his predecessor in a scholarly address. Units participating in the Memorial Day parade from the Armory to the cemetery and in the services at the grave included the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion Drum and Bugle Corps, Co. K., 125th Infantry Division of the Michigan National Guard, the University R.O.T.C. Band and R.O.T.C. regiment. Occupying places of honor on the flag-draped speakers' stand were a group of local Gold Star mothers, Dean Henry M. Bates, Prof. E. C. Goddard, and Prof. H. L. Wilgus, representing the University law school; Joseph L. Arnet, through whose generosity the memorial was provided; Regent Junius E. Beal, member of the committee of the Michigan State Historical Society to perpetuate the memory of Judge Fletcher; and Titus Hutzel, superintendent of the city water department at the time his workmen uncovered Judge Fletcher's casket in the old city cemetery on the site of present-day Felch Park. Mr. Hutzel supervised the disinterring and removal of Judge



Fletcher's body to its present location in Forest Hill Cemetery after he became a director of that institution. Justice Fletcher died in Ann Arbor, Sept. 19, 1852.

PREPARATIONS for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, one of the great civil documents of history, are well under way. On April 20 the following letter from President Roosevelt was received by the committee at Marietta, Ohio, headed by Ohio's former governor, the honorable George White:

My dear Sirs:

I most heartily endorse the proposal that the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the settlement of the Northwest be celebrated by the joint observance of the Federal Government and of the various states concerned.

Rich in the possession of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, those documents which established and gave form to our national government, we, as a people, have perhaps been less informed with respect to that third great charter—the Northwest Ordinance. I trust that this forthcoming anniversary will be seized as the opportune occasion to instill in American minds and hearts the cherished appreciation of the rank and honor that is the rightful due of the "Great Ordinance."

The principles therein embodied served as the highway, broad and safe, over which poured the westward march of our civilization. As the Constitution provided the federal frame, so the "Great Ordinance" provided for the states to be born of your region, not only the basis of civil government, but a perpetual security of elemental rights. On this plan was the United States built; on the plan of this Ordinance we have, state by state, filled in the geographic frame of our domain; and from it we have had no occasion to depart.

I hope to see the most helpful cooperation both on the part of the Federal Government and of your historic states in the commemoration of an event so full of meaning both to our past development and to the principles of freedom and progress for which we must ever stand.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Honorable George White,
Mr. W. P. McKinney,
Mr. E. M. Hawes,
Marietta, Ohio

Congress has appropriated \$100,000 for use of the national commission appointed to carry out the interstate activities, and it is expected that the states most nearly concerned—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota—will collectively approximately match the national appropriation, to organize and direct the intrastate phases of the celebration. So far as possible, men and women from relief rolls or other persons needing work are to be employed. Some of the states have already made their appropriations. For an anniversary beginning in 1937, prompt action is needed. A tentative visual program has been outlined, of such a nature that even the dumbest person would draw some healthy conclusions as to the sort of initiative and courage the men and women of early America had, and conceive that perhaps the same sort of thing would produce results today. The idea is to carry the celebration in dramatic visual form to every considerable city and village in the entire Old Northwest and within easy reach of every citizen. This celebration will run through 1937 and 1938, the climax coming on July 15, the date one hundred and fifty years ago on which American government was officially instituted west of the original thirteen states.

AMONG the notable anniversaries of 1935 is the 350th anniversary of the coming of the English to America. In 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh, friend of Queen Elizabeth, sent out in seven ships colonists who founded the first English "plantation" in America on Roanoke Island, in which colony in 1587 there was born Virginia Dare, the first white child to be born in America. In 1589 Raleigh sold out his interests in the colony to John White, the geographer Richard Hakluyt and others, and in the following year White went to Roanoke Island with colonists but found the Island deserted.

It is to John White, who was an artist, that we owe some 63 paintings which he made in Virginia, 23 of which were engraved by Theodore DeBry at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, and published by him as illustrations for a book written by

Thomas Hariot who had come to Roanoke among the first colonists. Of this exceedingly rare folio known to collectors as the DeBry Hariot of 1590-1620, the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor has 17 different editions, issues and variants. The British Museum has the original White paintings.

In a little brochure published as Bulletin XXII of the Clements Library, Dr. Adams remarks: "In assessing the relative importance of Hariot, White, Hakluyt and DeBry as sources of our knowledge [of early "Virginia"], it may not be inappropriate to recall the complaint of a well known political boss of New York. He said that since most of his constituents could not read, he did not care what the papers said about him—but when Thomas Nast began to draw cartoons about him, that was different, because his constituents could and would look at pictures. DeBry is the man who immortalized the pictures of the Roanoke colony."

In commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of the colony the Clements Library has on display a number of exact color-facsimiles made from the original White paintings and a considerable number of engravings, together with various early discovery Americana connected with the Roanoke colony.

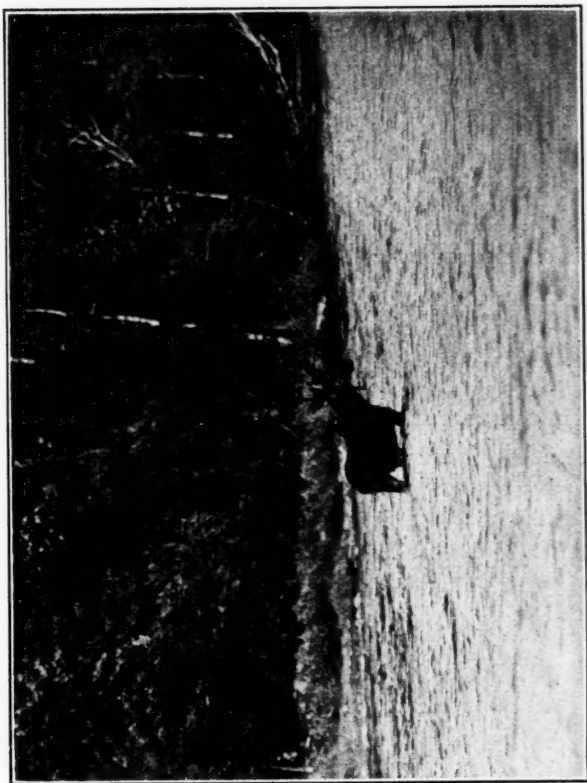
SOME years ago a movement was started to make Isle Royale, in Lake Superior, a National Park thereby preserving the unspoiled beauty of an isolated bit of wild land for future generations. This movement culminated in the acceptance of Isle Royale as a National Park by the United States Congress in 1931. Although the Federal Government has available about one-third of the area, it has not placed the park under management, and in all probability will not do so until it has acquired title to all. At the present time a lumber company which owns a considerable portion of the island is in active preparation to log off their holdings. These holdings are of such a nature that the only effective method of working them

involves such destruction of the timber resources as to destroy the natural beauty of the island for many years to come.

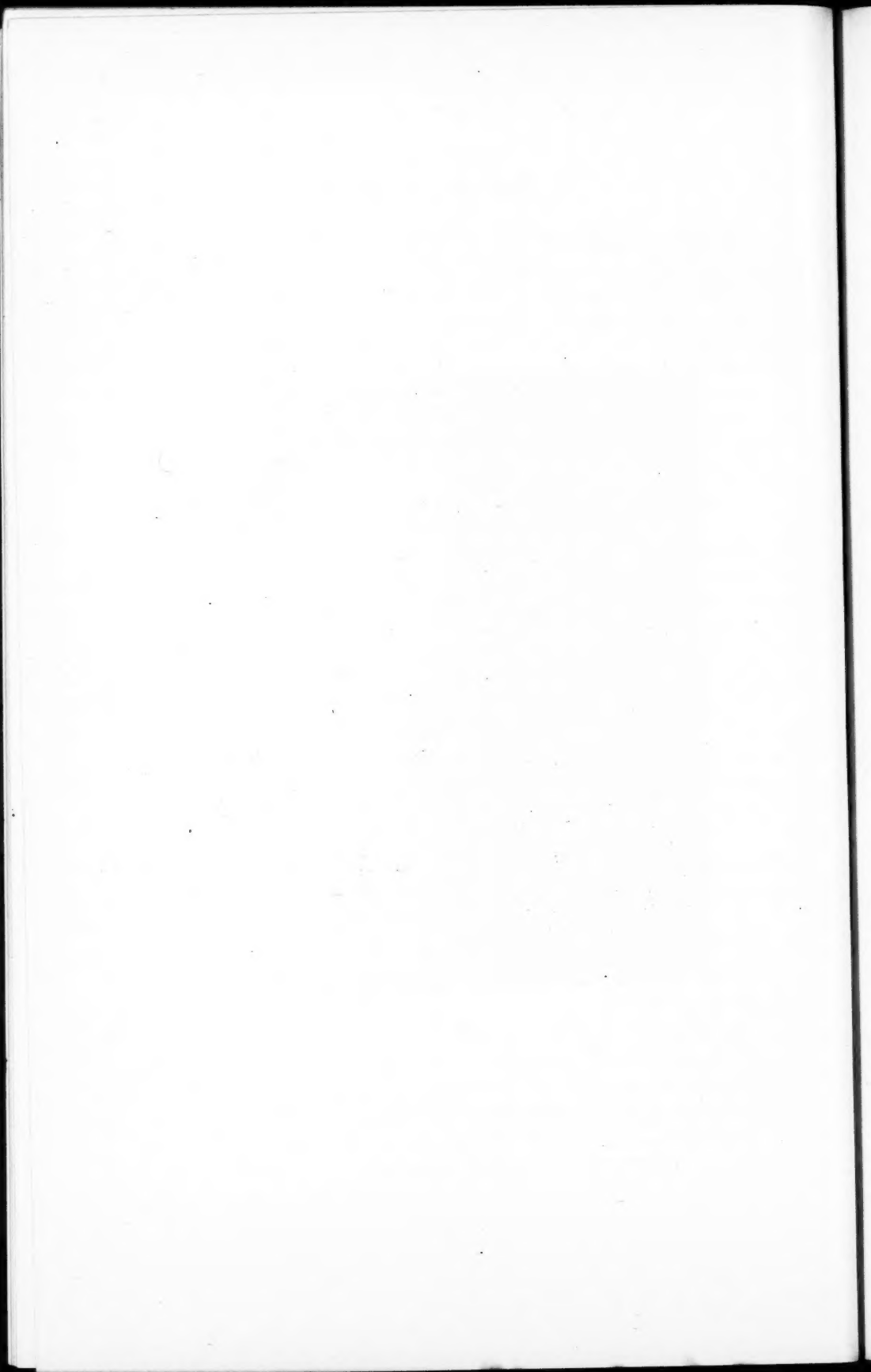
Obviously Michigan's 100 years of statehood could be commemorated in a distinguished way by the state's acquisition of the first national park in the Great Lakes region. In the Magazine from time to time we have published articles on Isle Royale (See in particular July-October, 1923, October 1924, July 1925 and the Spring number 1929). The earliest maps of the Lake Superior region show the presence of numerous islands of which none ever existed in fact and whose place has been taken by this one small island lying some fourteen miles from the Canadian shore and forty-five miles off our Upper Peninsula. The island is 44 miles long and varies from 3 to 9 miles in width. Its 205 square miles of area are adorned by more than 25 lakes. It wears as a chaplet hundreds of small islands which surround the main island. The truncated ends of ancient lava flows form its fundamental structure.

Isle Royale was obtained by the United States by the treaty of Paris in 1783 when Benjamin Franklin insisted that it should belong to the United States. Had the boundary been settled as simply the deepwater line to the end of the lake, it is altogether likely that we would have had serious difficulty in establishing our claim to the boundary that finally was fixed for the Northwest.

A few words here about the mystery and beauty of this wonderful spot. There is a certain mystery about the ancient copper mines which were worked by the aborigines on the island. There was little copper in use among the historic Indians when the country was discovered. Nevertheless we find copper relics in the mounds from the east coast to the Rocky Mountains and in all parts except the southwest. Yet we find on this island over a thousand of the so-called "Indian pits." Aside from Keweenaw Point, no other possible source for this copper exists outside of these pits. Some of them were of huge size, fifteen feet deep and over 500 feet long, with earthworks, drains, etc. The labor involved is comparable to that



MOOSE—LAKE RITCHIE



which erected the pyramids and the quantity of copper obtained must have been considerable. Charcoal, half burned sticks and tens of thousands of "hammer stones" tell the story of the method of mining. The rocks were heated very hot, water dashed upon them, the fragmented rocks broken away with hammers held in the hand and the sheet copper "worried" from its nesting place.

It is impossible at present to date these workings. The rings on the stumps of trees which grew in abandoned pits indicate that they have not been used for over 400 years, but how long prior to that time no man knows. None of the workings is less than 18 feet above the lake level and as the island is gradually rising above the lake that fact may give some help in determining their age. Although thousands of hammer stones have been found, many of them were made from imported rocks, as the rocks from which these were made are not found in the island. The Archaeological Isle Royale Expedition from Chicago in 1928 discovered a possible source for hammer stones on an old beach near "Ferguson's site," verifying previous discoveries of the Milwaukee Public Museum Expedition. All the stone hammers found are in their natural, unworked condition, having no grooves for the attachment of withes or handles. The one grooved implement previously found proved to be a stone axe, not a hammer or maul. Curiously, all the stone hammers found in the similar workings on Keweenaw Point have such grooves.

The same expedition discovered several probable camp sites, disproving the earlier theory that the primitives made no overnight camps. The camp site at Chippewa Harbor has the most evidence. Fireplace stones, charcoal and broken pottery were discovered there. No pottery has been found elsewhere on the island. The design of the pottery has some resemblance to the work of the Iroquoian artists but the impress of the cord used in fabrication was Algonquian. The work on the rim of another piece might have been Sionan.

The number of "points" found is negligible but their nature is distinctly important. A white flint knife was found in a

ridge near Sargent Lake and a stone axe on Birch Island. One copper arrowhead was found. More important was the discovery of an obsidian point and a chalcedony point as well. The obsidian could not have been obtained nearer than Yellowstone Park and the chalcedony must have come from Ohio or Illinois. Although there is no chert on the island a broken black chert was located. There is plenty of quartz present but no quartz implements have been found. In "Susan's Cave" a firebed was found beneath a layer of water depositions several feet thick, indicating great antiquity.

No human bones had ever been discovered until the expedition from Chicago in 1928 discovered an ossuary in a cave on Houghton Point. It has been walled up with small rocks and a one-ton boulder added for good measure. The skulls of six individuals were found and the additional bones came from about eight people. Skulls seemed to show a much thicker bone structure than that of either the historic Indian or the white man. The tibias were much flattened.

There is, of course, no necessary connection between the "Indian Pits", the pottery finds, the points discovered or the ossuary and its bones. They may all be quite unrelated. But they contribute to the mystery of the island which the Indians called Minong.

The primitive hammer stones indicate either a primitive people contemporaneous with those more advanced who worked Keweenaw Point or a more ancient primitive people who worked earlier. But if the primitives could use copper they would most certainly have passed through the paleolithic stage. And there is another mystery! The "best" opinion seems to be that the aboriginal mines date from the time of the Mound Builders or before.

The recent Indians very evidently felt awe of the island and did not make a habit of going there. Whether from some untoward incident of the past, such as a storm on the way to the island, a pestilence on the island, or from some obscure tradition handed down from the dim past we do not know. Per-

haps this awe might be ascribed to that far-off day when *some* cause dictated the abandonment of the mines by the primitive copper seekers. Mr. John Linklater, resident of the Island, states that his wife's grandmother and his own grandfather remembered the going of the Chippewas to Isle Royale. The latter recalled the gathering on the Canadian shore and the ceremonies, dance and appeal to the spirits deemed necessary before the trip could be made. Mr. Linklater states that at that time the Indians did not remain on the coast but made their camps on the inland lakes.

Numerous efforts have been made in recent times to obtain the copper formerly mined by the aborigines but the last attempt was given up in the '70s. The only relic remaining consists of abandoned buildings and mine dumps which are fast reverting to a state of nature.

The only industrial activity on the island is the fishing industry which is followed by a few fishermen, some of whom occasionally spend the winter on the island. There is some resort development which many expect to see greatly enhanced in the coming years.

One of the interesting features of the island is a moose herd which has varied in numbers in the first third of the present century to an amazing degree. This herd arrived on the island in the winter of 1912-13 at which time Lake Superior froze over between the island and the Canadian shore. It increased in numbers very rapidly and by 1926 contained at least 3,000 animals. Shortly thereafter the moose herd began to exhaust its food supply and decreased in numbers rapidly. This great number of moose had a disastrous effect upon the flora of the island, particularly on such plants as the ground hemlock and balsam.

Recently there has been formed the Isle Royale National Park Association which is actively pushing the project of acquiring the land in order to make Isle Royale a National Park in fact as well as in theory. It would be particularly fitting if this movement should accomplish its end during the

Centennial period, thereby erecting a national marker for Michigan's one hundred years of statehood. A very definite emergency exists and the far-seeing men who have undertaken to meet it deserve the backing of every community in Michigan. Quick action is essential to the preservation of this great historic Michigan beauty spot. The moose herd, the virgin forests, the miles of rocky shore line, the lakes nestling between peneplained ridges are worthy of a happier fate than the axe of the woodsman. If the campaign to preserve the island is successful, these things will provide an opportunity for scientists to study an undisturbed bit of virgin wilderness, and a spot where a multitude of people can obtain recreation of a type which cannot be had otherwise without long journeys to far places.

Note: Since the above was written the President has signed an executive order authorizing the purchase of Isle Royale lands optioned with view to making the Island a National Park, and possibly by time this reaches the reader the transfer of title will actually have taken place and the Secretary of the Interior will have made the final formal announcement. See for an excellent article by Albert Stoll, Jr., the "City Edition" of the *Detroit News* for August 9, 1935.

AMONG THE BOOKS

TRANSACTIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, 1805-1814. Edited by William Wirt Blume, Associate Professor of Law and Legal Research, University of Michigan. Vols. I and II. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1935.

These two handsome volumes are the first public evidence of the interest of the William W. Cook Endowment Fund in the History of Michigan. They are very creditable in appearance. The character of the printing is excellent and clear. The notes are at the foot of the page, adding to the ready investigation of statements.

The first volume contains a valuable introduction by Professor Blume, which gives a concise statement of the legislative and judicial powers of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan and its action under its creative act from 1805 to 1814. There is also a very full and complete list of all persons who held judicial positions in the Territory during that time.

This portion of the History of Michigan has hitherto been little known. A few investigators have examined portions of it but this makes a permanent and valuable addition to our knowledge. All the information possible is given about every case which was calendared. In only a very few of the cases was an opinion rendered by any of the Judges and practically in every case where there is any opinion filed, it is by Judge Woodward.

During the period there were four judges. Judge Bates, one of the first appointed, resigned in 1807, and Judge Witherell was appointed in his place. The opinions filed by Judge Woodward evidence thorough investigation and apparently the possession or existence in the community of a considerable number of English Reports. In fact, Judge Woodward was the only lawyer of training and experience of the entire number. Judge Witherell had been a doctor and Congressman. Judge Bates was a young man of good mind, who had never given any time to the study of law. Judge Griffin was an easy going character who seldom showed an opinion of his own.

During the years, and the moving of the papers from Detroit to the original Capitol building and then into the present one, it is evident that a number of important papers have been lost.

The first volume contains the calendar of the cases and comments upon them with references. Also it contains the Journal of the Court for the entire period 1805 to 1814, with a number of interesting tables.

Although Judge Woodward remained in Detroit during the War of

1812 until February, 1813, the other Judges were absent and no Court was held.

The second volume gives in a number of cases everything that is shown by the Records and in several cases the trial briefs of Solomon Sibley, who was one of the two leading lawyers of Detroit.

During the period covered by these volumes, an interesting situation arose involving the power of the judiciary to declare a Statute unconstitutional and therefore void. The Ordinance of 1787—the Constitution of the Territory—provided that the “Governor and Judges or a majority of them shall adopt and publish laws”. In 1808 during the absence of Judge Woodward from Detroit, Governor Hull and Judge Witherell, whose legal knowledge was confined to the laws of Vermont from which he had been appointed, both of whom did not, for differing reasons, feel kindly toward Woodward, passed, without the consent of Judge Griffin, 45 statutes changing in many respects the existing laws relating to Courts and proceedings, and among the laws passed was one providing that any 3 of the Governor and Judges should constitute a quorum, in which case 2 shall be a legal majority and any law receiving their assent shall be deemed to be regularly passed by the Legislative Board and be signed by the presiding officer. This law purported to have been adopted from the law of Vermont.

Another law so passed was one relating to appeals from a Lower Court to the Supreme Court, and not long after Judge Woodward's return in 1809 a case was appealed to the Supreme Court in a manner based upon the Statute passed in Judge Woodward's absence and soon four cases arose in which the same situation was involved. Judge Woodward held that the case brought up on appeal was not properly before the Court as the method prescribed in the original law had not been followed. The basis of Judge Woodward's holding was that the Ordinance required the affirmative action of at least three members of the Legislative Board and that any so-called law passed by only two was not a law. Governor Hull was greatly aroused and issued a proclamation in October, 1809, referring to the Court decision and saying that the construction given by the Court was an absurdity and operated to the destruction of government and required every officer, both civil and military, to carry into effect the laws of the Territory and that all good citizens should obey them. This, of course, was a very ill advised action and apparently no notice of it was ever sent to Washington by the Governor and a few months later Governor Hull joined with Judge Woodward and Judge Griffin in repealing all of the 45 laws.

Under the principles laid down by Justice Marshall in *Marbury v.*

Madison, decided by the Supreme Court six years earlier, Judge Woodward's decision was clearly right.

Succeeding volumes, to include all cases up to the reported decisions, will be looked for with interest.—*Reviewed by William L. Jenks, Port Huron.*

THE STORY OF HENRY HOWLAND CRAPO: 1804-1869. By Henry Howland Crapo, II. Thomas Todd Co., Boston, 1933, pp. 272.

Few lives of governors of Michigan have been so well written as that of Governor Crapo in this excellent volume. Perhaps the only "Life" approaching it is that of Stevens T. Mason, first governor of Michigan, written by the late Lawton T. Hemans and published by the Michigan Historical Commission.

Governor Crapo was born at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, May 24, 1804 and died at Flint, Michigan, July 22, 1869. His life thus spanned over half a century of the initial growth of the American nation. Born the year before Michigan Territory was organized, he lived well beyond the close of the Civil War. His father was of French descent, but poor, and Henry's early years were years of struggle. He gained the rudiments of an education by his own efforts, later teaching school, the only way he could gain leisure to pursue his studies. In 1832 he took up his residence at New Bedford, which is still today a seat of interest to the Crapo family. He learned surveying and held many local offices. Appointed chairman of the committee on education, he prepared a report upon which was based the establishment of the free public library of New Bedford, the first of its kind in America, antedating that of Boston by several years. He became greatly interested in Horticulture and became widely known in this field, exhibiting at fairs and contributing to publications on the subject. The chief interest of New Bedford at that period was whaling, the fitting out of vessels for supplies, and the receipt and market of cargoes, and Mr. Crapo became interested in these enterprises. He was interested also in fire insurance.

Having invested in pine lands in Michigan, Henry Crapo removed to the state in 1856 and settled at Flint where he engaged in the manufacture and sale of pine lumber. Here he became interested in promoting a railroad, later to be known as the Flint and Pere Marquette. He was active in public affairs in Flint, was elected mayor, and later was sent to the state senate. In 1864 he was elected governor of Michigan and was reelected in 1866.

The messages of Governor Crapo to the legislature were characterized by hard-headed good sense. He advocated the adoption of the

permanent policy, "Pay as you go." He urgently advocated measures to induce immigration to the state, called special attention to the natural resources and their relation to manufacturing. He was a strong champion of Michigan Agricultural College in the days when popular prejudice was still against it. Governor Crapo exercised the pardoning power with extreme caution, and was very sparing with vetoes, but he used the veto promptly and firmly when he thought he should. The most exciting event of his career as governor grew out of his vetoes in the matter of aid to railroads. He went to great length in discussing the economic bearings of the question, and his warnings were both timely and truthful. All of his vetoes were sustained. One of the important events of his administration was the movement for revision of the Constitution of 1850. The new constitution drawn up by the Convention of 1867 is a very interesting document, but it was not adopted by the people.

Mr. Crapo had married in 1825, at Dartmouth, Mass., Mary Ann Slocum, and they had ten children,—one son and nine daughters. The son, William W. Crapo, was for many years a member of Congress from New Bedford, Mass.

The author of this volume, a grandson of Governor Crapo, has produced a work of which Michigan as well as the Crapo family can be proud. It is a labor both of love and of scholarship.

PADRE." By Frances Harris Obrecht. Dorrance and Co., Inc., Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 114. Price \$1.75.

One of the most loveable characters in Michigan history was "Father Pat", as his boys liked to call him "over there", and the little volume is dedicated "To 'Padre Pat's' buddies of the American Legion".

Right Rev. Monsignor Patrick R. Dunigan—to call him by the title of honor conferred by his church—was Senior Chaplain of the famous 32nd Division of the A.E.F. He had been active with the Michigan National Guard from 1907, and went to the Mexican border in 1916 and 1917. In the World War he shared the lot of the doughboys bringing comfort to them whenever he could. He went with the army of occupation into Germany and was at Coblenz until 1919. Among his decorations were the Distinguished Service Cross, the Croix de Guerre, and the Order of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. At home in Flint, Michigan, Father Dunigan was pastor of St. Michael's Catholic Church. Father Dunigan was widely known in civic service as well as in religious and military circles. Governors of Michigan valued his counsels. His humanity gained him a deep place in the affections of the masses of people regardless of religious lines.

It is the story of this man that is sympathetically told in this booklet of 114 pages. It is not a "biography" in the strict sense; just a realistic story charmingly told about interesting things in the varied experience of a really great life. It is homespun. It has the touch of a newspaper writer's quick mind and flair for the dramatic and picturesque. You will like this book. It ought to have a million readers.

TOOLS OF TOMORROW. By Jonathan Norton Leonard. The Viking Press, N. Y., 1935, pp. 310. Price \$3.

This volume is a clear and authoritative discussion of what we can do and are likely to do with the tools which science has placed in our hands. Some of these instruments are complicated and difficult to explain. Mr. Leonard has gone behind the scenes, carefully weighed their practical possibilities and has here set them forth in a style of writing that untangles the complications for the layman. Such a combination of research and clear writing is highly to be commended.

A great many fantastic half-truths have been written about the world of tomorrow. Obviously no one can predict what our civilization will be like in the distant future. Mr. Leonard is not concerned with this field of speculative philosophy but solely with the realm of science. He deals with actualities, and yet the facts are startling enough. It is possible, as he shows, to predict the new world now at our doorstep. New sources of power, new methods of transportation and communication, new metals to build with, new machines to work these metals, new ways of living. Many of these tools are already proved and tested instruments which merely await the appropriate moment for their release. Others are already on paper or in the minds of scientists.

"The Price of the Future" is the concluding chapter. It is illuminating. How shall we enjoy the fruits of applied science in the face of "technological unemployment"? Here, he points out, the technicians are disgusted, with the incompetence and selfishness of human nature. "What's the matter with the rest of the outfit"? they ask. "We tell them how to raise all kinds of food and a lot of people start eating garbage. We design a long range plane for an airline, and they start wondering if they can drop bombs on Tokyo. We find some mineral we need in Africa, and Congress slaps a duty on it to protect a little hole-in-the-ground mine in Colorado. We figure out a cheap and easy way to make something, and they all jump on us for causing unemployment. Wasn't that what they wanted us to do—save labor?" Whose fault is it that leisure, hard-won from nature by science, should turn into unemployment? To the economists and the sociologists and the politicians, the technicians say, "We've done our job. Now you go

and do yours. You've made a terrible exhibition of yourselves so far."

In this connection Mr. Leonard shows how at present many of the most valuable industrial developments are being held up by selfish monopolies of various types, particularly in building, transportation, and communication. He discusses briefly the extremely vexed questions of international trade and war in the light of improved technology and shortsighted selfishness, blind devotion to nationalist traditions and the desire to dominate and destroy.

Mr. Leonard favors effective cooperation for common ends, but would leave unimpaired the initiative, resourcefulness and efficiency fostered by competition. He warns against confusing "cooperation" with "conformity." To science conformity means death, and when men are made to conform in other ways, he says, they usually conform in science. "No intellectual progress is being made in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy, scientific or otherwise." Apparently he did not think it necessary to mention Russia.

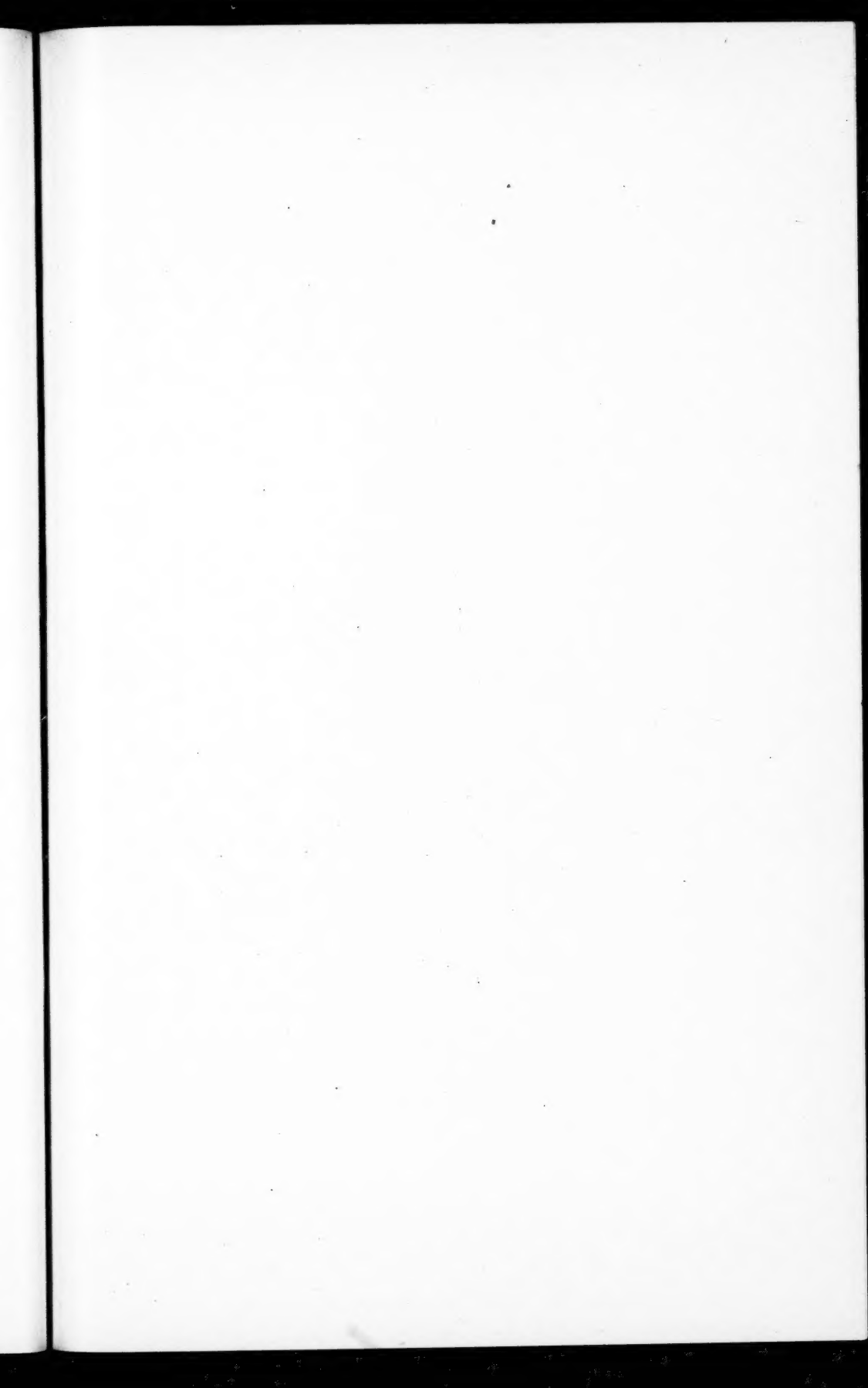
NEW METHODS IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES. By M. J. Stormzand and Robert H. Lewis. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., N. Y., 1935, pp. 223. Price \$1.75.

Dr. Stormzand is professor of education in Occidental College; Dr. Lewis is a teacher in the department of social studies at San Fernando High School, Los Angeles, California; both, as shown in this volume, seem highly competent to evaluate those changes in content and method of the social studies which have been among the significant elements in reorganizing secondary education during the last decade. In this book the authors point out those curricular revisions in history and geography and civics which have tended to vitalize teaching to the end of making these subjects contribute more directly to the socialization of students. Emphasis is placed upon a few of the most widely used and most successful of these programs; among them the unit plan, work books and study guide tests, the problem method as based on current events, socializing class methods, laboratory methods and visual aids, and integration of the social studies with English. A chapter is devoted to each of these movements. A practical bibliography accompanies each chapter. This volume seems to us one of the most useful presentations of the new methods.

DEATH ON THE PRAIRIE: THE THIRTY YEARS' STRUGGLE FOR THE WESTERN PLAINS. By Paul I. Wellman. Macmillan, N. Y., 1934, pp. 298. Price \$3.

From 1862 to 1892 occurred the "Thirty Years' War" for the possession of the western plains. In this volume Mr. Wellman has written a fast-moving but authentic story of this exciting and often tragic period. A special feature of the book is that it traces the movements of the Indians as well as those of the troops, and gives the Indian as well as the white accounts of most of the battles. This volume supplies the need of a brief and readable account of these events taken as a whole.

In the old West the white man had just embarked upon the great industrial era. The red man was just emerging from the last vestiges of the Stone Age. Between these two extremes of culture there was no common ground. The Indian could not comprehend the white man's hunger for land. To him the earth and its creatures were a free gift to all from the Great Mystery. To him war was a game, dangerous, but an exciting field of honor, not merely an unpleasant thing to be used for scientifically exterminating the enemy. The white man's greed was equally inexplicable. Armed with the repeating rifle, the telegraph and the railroad, against the red man who had only his primitive weapons and his native courage, the Machine Age remorselessly engulfed the wilderness. But it was not without a struggle. Here in this volume is painted something of the glamour, the action, the vivid color, the heroism and despair of those spectacular days.



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